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VIEW

OF THE

CAUSES AND PROGRESS

OF THE

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FRENCH REVOLUTION.

BY JOHN MOORE, M. D.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

Opus opimum casibus, atrox præliis, discors seditionibus, ipsa etiam pace sævum. TACIT.

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TO HIS GRACE

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE.

MY LORD DUKE,

IT is very difficult to write on the ſubject of the French Revolution without being accuſed of partiality. I endeavoured to avoid that imputation in my Journal; but a very near connection of yours told me, that, when ſhe was abroad, thoſe who are called *Democrates*, and had read the book, declared that, with other faults, it had an intolerable leaning towards ariſtocracy. Thoſe, on the other hand, who are denominated *Ariſtocrates* were of opinion, that its greateſt fault was a

ſtrong bias to democracy. In the writer's mind, however, there is no more inclination to either than is to be found in the Conſtitution of Great Britain, as it was eſtabliſhed by the efforts of your Grace's anceſtor, in conjunction with thoſe of other patriots, at the Revolution in the year 1688. The preſent work has been executed in the ſame diſpoſition, and will be expoſed to the ſame cenſure.

At a period when prejudices operate with unuſual acrimony; when, merely from viewing a particular object in different lights, two ſets of men in this country reciprocally accuſe each other of deſigns, of which, I am convinced, neither are capable; when that ſpirit of hatred which alienated the minds of men from their countrymen, and even relations, on account of a difference of religious opinions, about

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the middle of the ſixteenth century, ſeems to revive on account of political ones at the end of the eighteenth; at ſuch a time, the qualities of moderation, of candour, and benevolence, under the direction of a good underſtanding and ſcrupulous integrity, derive uncommon luſtre from their uncommon rarity. This conſideration induced me to addreſs the following work to your Grace.

I remain, my Lord Duke,

Your moſt obedient and
Obliged humble ſervant,

J. MOORE.

Clifford-ſtreet,
May 6, 1795.

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A

VIEW

OF THE

CAUSES AND PROGRESS

OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION.

CHAPTER I.

The Reſources of France—Henry IV.—Lewis XIV.—The Love of our Country—Loyalty—The Regent—Lewis XV.

THE preſent revolution in France is one of the moſt awful events of which hiſtory affords any record.

The crimes with which it has been accompanied will remain a ſtain on the national character, which all the perſeverance

and intrepidity with which France has repelled external attack cannot efface.

The miſery which the revolution has already produced, is of a nature ſo extenſive and ſo acute, as no rational hope of future proſperity can compenſate.

The only way we have to judge of the probability of what is to happen, is by reflecting on what has happened; and the ſureſt means of avoiding evil of any kind is by diſcovering the cauſes which lead to it.

To enumerate ſome of the circumſtances which tended to haſten, and are reckoned among the remote cauſes of the French revolution, may be uſeful.

Many imagine, that it will be a very long time before the finances of France can recover the extraordinary drains they have of late undergone: it muſt be remembered, however, that her reſources are prodigious, of which nothing can afford more

more convincing proofs than the rapidity with which, on former occaſions, ſhe acquired riches and proſperity, after being exhauſted by civil diſſenſions or foreign wars.

She revived from all the diſaſters of the bloody civil war of the League, with wonderful quickneſs, and acquired new dignity and unprecedented proſperity under Henry IV.

A very ſhort time after the civil diſſenſions and war of the Fronde, her greatneſs and wealth excited the jealouſy, and reſiſted the force, of ſeveral powerful ſtates which combined againſt her.

The ſudden recovery from the diſaſtrous condition to which France was reduced at the two epochs above mentioned, was partly owing to the talents of the two Princes who reigned immediately after them.

The firſt, being bleſſed with benevolence

and genius, had at once the inclination to raiſe his country from the calamitous ſtate in which ſhe was, and the power to execute it—he was in reality a great King.

The ſecond has been called the beſt actor of a great King that ever lived.

The fine perſon, dignified deportment, and impoſing manners of Lewis XIV. commanded the admiration, and even the awe, of his generals, miniſters and courtiers; and towards the end of his reign, when he was at once aſſailed by domeſtic and public misfortunes, the attachment of his ſubjects ſeemed to make them feel the ſorrows of their King as their own, and ſubmit with alacrity to heavier exactions than were ever wrung by tyranny from men.

Mankind are governed by force and by opinion. Lewis made uſe of both theſe agents in a ſupreme degree. Beſides the immenſe army which he kept up, in peace

as

as well as war, he alſo kept in action all thoſe ſprings which have been found friendly to the maintenance of implicit obedience in the ſubject, and arbitrary power in the monarch. By various means he kept his nobility entirely dependent on his favour. Jealous of allowing the Princes of the Blood occaſions of acquiring military fame, he ſeldom gave them the command of armies, and never for a long time. He commanded in perſon only when conqueſt was ſecure; and without being expoſed to hardſhip or danger, he claimed the merit of having reduced every fortreſs, which was either bought by his money, or ſubdued by the ſkill of his engineers: even in his cabinet at Verſailles he affected to direct the operations of his generals in the field, and vainly expected that, *their* victories being imputed to *his* military ſkill, the greater ſhare of the glory would remain with himſelf.

He was taught that he had a right to controul the conſciences and ſeize the money of his ſubjects; and, as he was at once ſuperſtitious and haughty, he revived the ſpirit of perſecution, partly from zeal for the religion which he himſelf profeſſed, and partly to puniſh the arrogance of thoſe who dared to entertain opinions different from his.

Compenſating the difference in quantity by that of quality, he ſeems to have thought himſelf and family, including his illegitimate children, of more value than all his ſubjects together.

Other Monarchs have rated themſelves and ſubjects in the ſame manner; but Lewis XIV. is perhaps the only King who ever brought his ſubjects to the ſame way of thinking. He and his glory occupied their thoughts more than their own welfare, or that of their country. Thoſe endearing

ideas, which are connected with the expreſſion *our country*, rouſed his jealouſy; at leaſt, pains were taken, in his time, to root them out of their native ſoil, and tranſplant them around the word *King*: the expreſſion *la Patrie* fell out of uſe during his reign, and continued ſo for a long time afterwards:—*le Roi* ſupplied its place.

That men ſhould reverence the chief Magiſtrate of a Conſtitution, where power is limited and prerogative aſcertained, is highly rational and becoming; that ſubjects ſhould admire a great King, and love a benevolent one, is natural and juſt. The heart owns, and the underſtanding approves, thoſe ſentiments. There is nothing in them, however, to fire the imagination, or greatly to captivate the affections. But the expreſſion *native country* preſents itſelf to the mind, decorated with many ideas from the wardrobe of imagination. To tell men

they have diſgraced their country, is the moſt bitter of all reproaches; to ſay that they have done it honour, is the moſt ſoothing of all praiſes. The officer on the day of battle is ſenſible of this; and that he may inſpire thoſe under his command with additional courage, and rouſe them to the utmoſt efforts, he reminds them that *they are fighting for their country.* That ſimple ſentence contains all the magic of eloquence. Conjuring up the ideas of protecting our property, our homes, the abodes of our forefathers, the beloved ſcenes of our earlieſt pleaſures and firſt affections, it implies defending from outrage our conſtitution, our religion, all that is valuable and endearing, our friends, parents, wives and children. The love of our country is mentioned with the love of fame by the Roman poet, as the feeling of a noble mind:

" Vincet amor patriæ, laudumque immenſa cupido."

It not only excites to virtuous exertions during life, but a ſoothing recollection in death:

"—— dulces moriens reminiſcitur Argos."

The Romans, fond of fighting as they were, would not have unſheathed a ſword for the greateſt man their country ever produced, if he had inſinuated that they were to fight for *his* glory, and not for their country.

But the French, in Lewis the Fourteenth's time, ſeem to have thought of nothing but the Monarch. When a battle was loſt, their greateſt concern was the affliction it would occaſion to him—they rejoiced in victory, becauſe it would afford him pleaſure, and increaſe his glory. The great empire of France, *and all which it inherit*, ſeemed to have been concentred in the perſon of the Grand Monarque—as if there had been a general conviction of the abſurd doctrine, that

that the People were made for the King, and not the King for the People; which has a bad effect on the minds of both, rendering the one more proud, and the other more ſervile.

This was the caſe in France during the reign of this arrogant Monarch, whoſe affected grandeur impoſed on the whole nation; and who, whether he was a hero in the eyes of his valet de chambre or not, certainly was admired as a great Monarch, even by the truly great men of his own time. His generals talked of the honour of ſhedding their blood for his glory. The proudeſt of his nobility ſolicited offices, ſome of them almoſt menial, near his perſon; and the great Condé himſelf dwindled into a mere courtier, to ſatisfy the vanity of the inflated Monarch.

Conſiderations of policy and ſelfiſhneſs intermingled, in theſe inſtances, with that wonder-

wonderment with which the nation at that time looked up to their Monarch; the generals probably thought a little of commands and regiments, the courtiers of places and penſions, and the prince of mitigating that jealouſy which, he well knew, Lewis bore him. It is impoſſible to imagine, that they had any affectionate attachment to his perſon.

How could a reſerved, yet oſtentatious tyrant, who continually ſacrificed the feelings of all around him to his own caprice and conveniency, excite affectionate attachment?

A King of ſuch a character as Henry IV. would certainly carry men a great length in the moſt cordial loyalty; but let thoſe who wiſh to embody patriotiſm, and many of the ſentiments which beautify and harmonize ſociety, with whoever inherits the office of King, recollect the characters of

all

all Henry's ſucceſſors, except the laſt; let them alſo reflect, that if Lewis XV. had died before his marriage, then all the loyalty of the French nation, with all the duty and affection which belong to it, and that ardour to ſhed their blood for their King's glory, which the French of thoſe days were ſo fond of profeſſing, would have been the lawful inheritance of Philip Egalité.

The impreſſion which the long reign of Lewis XIV. made on the minds of his ſubjects, continued during the government of the Regent, whoſe character and conduct were in many reſpects the reverſe. Naturally of a compaſſionate diſpoſition, and a lover of juſtice, if wiſhes could have done it, he would have made the people happy; but indolence and the inordinate purſuit of pleaſure prevented him from the exertions neceſſary for that purpoſe, or from controlling

controlling the conduct of unfeeling and rapacious miniſters.

Endowed with courage and wit, he deſpiſed, as dull and ſuperfluous, the formalities which politicians have found uſeful in government; he ſcorned that affected dignity and reſerve, by which imbecillity ſo often gains reſpect, and ignorance is ſo often concealed; and falling into the oppoſite extreme, he introduced a laxity of manners, which rejected all the reſtraints of poliſhed ſociety, wounded decency, and revived that profligacy which had been baniſhed from the court of France ſince the days of Catharine of Medicis and her ſon Henry III.

Nothing can be a ſtronger proof of the ſubmiſſive ſpirit which prevailed at this period in France, than that the ſame ſyſtem of government continued, in ſpite of the wanton imprudence of the Regent, the fraudulent ſcheme by which ſo many thouſand

ſand individuals were ruined, and the deſpicable character and nauſeous manners of his prime miniſter, who was at once a diſgrace to the prieſthood, to the nation, and even to the court.

Inſtead of wiſhing for any alteration in their government, the French of thoſe days were proud of the unlimited nature of their monarchy, *with all its crimes broad-blown*; and, after they had deſpaired of the Regent, they centred their hopes of a redreſs of grievances in the young Prince, who had now attained the age at which he could aſſume the government.

No maxim of holy writ ſeems to have made leſs impreſſion on mankind than this, *Put not your truſt in Princes.* In ſpite of their numerous diſappointments, the higheſt expectations are always formed by the populace of the heir apparent of the throne. Hiſtory hardly makes mention of one who died young, who is not ſaid to have poſ-

ſeſſed

ſeſſed all the virtues of humanity. Of how many Marcelli have we heard, each more blooming than the other, whoſe wonderful ſpring of talents promiſed the moſt aſtoniſhing harveſt! Even the monſter Caligula was, when a boy, the favourite of the Roman army; and if, for the good of mankind, he had died then, the world would probably have been told by ſome poet or hiſtorian, that he was juſt ſhewn to the earth *, which being unworthy of him, he was ſoon carried to heaven. If, however, among thoſe born the immediate heirs of empire, ſo many are endowed in this extraordinary manner, whoſe virtues would add ſplendour to the throne, and diffuſe happineſs among their ſubjects, how infinitely is it to be lamented, that *they* ſhould be ſo early cut off, rather than their ſurvivors!

Many circumſtances united in Lewis XV.

* Oſtendent terris hunc tantum fata.

to conciliate the affections and raiſe the hopes of the nation.

He was the only child of the virtuous Duke of Burgundy (the pupil of Fenelon) and Adelaide of Savoy, whoſe playful character is painted in ſuch amiable colours by the writers of that age. The Duke fell a ſacrifice to the grief he felt for the untimely death of this Princeſs; and the loſs of both filled France, not only with that external mourning which is equally worn for Princes at whoſe death the public rejoice, as for thoſe they lament, but alſo with *real* ſorrow.

The young King poſſeſſed likewiſe all the charms of comelineſs of countenance and ſymmetry of perſon: to theſe the people added, of courſe, all the beſt qualities of the head and heart.

Whatever ſhare of the latter he had was ſoon rendered uſeleſs by indolence, and

perverted by the corruptions of a court. He poſſeſſed not, like his great-grandfather, that lofty reſerve, which keeps men at too great a diſtance to judge of the real worth of the object they contemplate.—With more weakneſſes to conceal, he had leſs the power of concealing them; and the more the man was ſeen, the leſs was the Monarch eſteemed.

He appeared at the head of his armies, without endeavouring to acquire any knowledge in the art of war. *They* gained victories, and his General had the glory.

In peace, he became devoted to an artful woman, who governed the ſtate with as unlimited ſway, as his General had done the army. Even when ſhe had loſt the charms by which his affections had been ſeduced; abandoning his perſon to others, ſhe kept what ſhe moſt valued in the connection, by maintaining her power until her death.

She who ſucceeded the Marchioneſs of Pompadour, as the acknowledged miſtreſs of Lewis XV. was not ſo haughty and ambitious as her predeceſſor.

Intermeddling leſs with the affairs of ſtate, ſhe was at more pains to amuſe and entertain her lover. With all her good humour and gaiety, ſhe found it impoſſible, however, entirely to ward off the tedium to which a vacant mind is peculiarly expoſed.

Although no man was ever more oppreſſed with mental indolence than Lewis XV. he was fond to exceſs of bodily exerciſe, and paſſed great part of his time in hunting, from which he derived the double advantage of repelling the intruſions of reflection, and obtaining ſleep.

The wretched monarch was relieved from the burden of exiſtence, by a diſeaſe which he had taken great pains to avoid through the whole of his paſt life, and which he caught

caught wantonly in his old age*. He died a memorable proof, that the united advantages of external gracefulneſs, riches, high birth, quickneſs of apprehenſion, and even benevolence, cannot preclude tedium or miſery, and ſecure public eſteem to thoſe whoſe minds are incapable of laudable exertion.

The death of this Prince, who at the beginning of his reign had received the appellation of *Lewis the Well-Beloved*, was heard at Paris with ſatisfaction rather than ſorrow.

It had been the cuſtom, in times of public danger, to make a proceſſion of the ſhrine of St. Genevieve, the patroneſs of that city, in the hopes that by the Saint's interceſſion the threatened calamity might be averted. This ceremony was performed

* Lewis XV. died at the age of ſixty-five, of the ſmall pox, which he caught from a young woman, on whom that diſeaſe appeared ſoon after ſhe had been with the King.

during the laſt illneſs of Lewis XV. He expired notwithſtanding. When his death was announced in a certain company, one obſerved that the proceſſion of the ſhrine ſeemed to have loſt its efficacy. "What "happier effect could it have produced," ſaid another, "*Is he not dead?*"

CHAP.

CHAPTER II.

Lewis XVI.—Diffuſion of Knowledge—of Riches—The Bourgeoiſie of France—The Ancient Nobleſſe—the Modern—The Courtiers—The Queen—American War—Abolition of Houſehold Troops—German Diſcipline—Practice and Theory.

IT was not poſſible for the perſonal character of the King to be ſeen, during the greater part of a long reign, in this degrading point of view, without diminiſhing, in a conſiderable degree, the national veneration for royalty.

At the acceſſion of Lewis XVI. however, the public opinion ſeemed to have a tendency to return to its ancient bias. In the candour, affability, and love of juſtice, which appeared in the young King, the nation found a reſemblance with the charac-

ter of its laſt Henry, whoſe memory was cheriſhed with filial veneration.

The young Queen united in her perſon many qualities, which might have been expected to render her popular in any country, but peculiarly ſo in France—beauty, good humour, gaiety, and a great deſire of pleaſing; preferring affability to etiquette, and the manners of the nation to which ſhe had come, to thoſe of that which ſhe had left; and forming a bond of union between the two, which promiſed a termination to long rivalſhip, and a commencement of mutual ſupport and proſperity.

Thoſe circumſtances certainly had a tendency to remove the impreſſions which the conduct of Lewis XV. might have made, and to revive the languiſhing loyalty of the nation.

At this time, however, the ſpirit of philoſophical diſcuſſion prevailed very much in France. The Engliſh writers on the ſubject

of government were more read and reliſhed than they had ever been before. The works of Monteſquieu, Rouſſeau, Raynal, were univerſally admired.

Many old prejudices, hurtful to ſociety, though ſupported by the ſelf-intereſt of a few, and the ignorance of the multitude, were combated by the authors above mentioned, and others. The writings of Voltaire, diſtinguiſhed for wit, and a happineſs of expreſſion which baffles imitation, contributed more than all the reſt to form the taſte and bias the opinions of the age. They were more univerſally read than the works of any other author; becauſe, to borrow the words of one who knew him well, they poſſeſſed "le précieux avantage d'être "toujours clair et ſimple, ſans jamais être "inſipide, et d'être lu avec un égal plaiſir, "et par le peuple des lectures et par l'elite "des philoſophes*."

While

* The precious advantage of being always clear

While the edge of his ridicule is turned againſt perſecution and hypocriſy, the moſt virtuous applaud: but Voltaire was not a believer in Chriſtianity—that was his misfortune; but it cannot excuſe his attempts to turn into ridicule the eſtabliſhed religion of his country. One among many peculiarities of this author is, that he treats Chriſtianity with becoming reſpect in his dramas, and that ſome of his plays are at once the moſt moral and religious of his works.

The Encyclopædia, that great monument of univerſal ſcience, was finiſhed about this period. The avowed object of this work was the promotion of general knowledge, and men diſtinguiſhed in every branch of ſcience had been employed in it; but what ſome of the principal undertakers are ſup-

and ſimple, without ever being inſipid, and of being read with equal pleaſure by a perſon of plain common ſenſe and by a philoſopher.

poſed

poſed to have had chiefly in view, was to promulgate certain free notions on the ſubjects of government and religion, in which there is no doubt they ſucceeded, not only in France but in other countries of Europe.

As by theſe means, and the increaſing commerce of the nation, literature and riches became more diffuſed among the middle and inferior orders of ſociety, many ancient prejudices were weakened and effaced. That haughty ſuperiority, which the meaneſt of the Nobleſſe aſſumed over their fellow-citizens, became more intolerable to the Bourgeoiſie than before: what had been ſubmitted to by men when poor and ignorant, was not ſo eaſily brooked by the ſame claſs when they found themſelves richer, and thought themſelves wiſer, than many of thoſe who were ranked their ſuperiors.

That Ruſſian, Poliſh, and Bohemian peaſants, who are attached to the lands, and have

have no means of improving either their minds or fortunes, ſhould continue to bear inſult and oppreſſion from thoſe whom they look up to as ſuperior beings, is not wonderful; neither is it ſurpriſing that the Turks continue ſlaves, becauſe what knowledge exiſts among them belongs to their rulers: but if a gradual progreſſion of induſtry and knowledge takes place in that part of any nation which is moſt oppreſſed, while diſſipation and effeminacy prevail in that part which is moſt privileged, a ſpeedy revolution in ſuch a nation may with certainty be predicted.

This alteration had, in a great meaſure, taken place in France. The better ſort of the Bourgeoiſie had gained what a great portion of the Nobleſſe had loſt; and that elevation of mind, ſenſe of honour, and ſpirit of enterpriſe, which in the days of yore belonged excluſively to the latter, was now extended, in a great degree, to the former.

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A claim of ſuperiority is irkſome to many people, even when they are conſcious that the claimant excels them in natural qualities and attainments. A conſiderable degree of deference, however, will be ſpontaneouſly paid to theſe, by the beſt part of mankind, and will be greatly increaſed, wherever to ſuch attainments the circumſtance of high birth is added; but a continued aſſumption of ſuperiority in thoſe who are inferior in every praiſe-worthy quality except that of birth, is always felt with indignation and treated with contempt, when the open diſplay of that ſentiment is not reſtrained by intereſted motives.

In ancient times, the power of the ſtate and the whole ſpirit of the French armies depended on the Nobleſſe, as gallant a claſs of men as the world ever produced. The Greek and Roman hiſtories exhibit not brighter examples of generous intrepidity than the annals of France. The Nobleſſe

therefore were at once reſpected by the Sovereign and by the People.

But becauſe a race of men, diſtinguiſhed for the virtues of the age in which they lived, who were always foremoſt in the ranks of battle, their ſons fighting by their ſides, were reſpected and admired, and had privileges granted to them, does it follow, it was aſked, that the ſame are due to men bred in effeminate luxury, diſtinguiſhed for their follies and debaſing amuſements, who, childiſhly fond of the trappings of a ſoldier and the pomp of war, ſhrink from its real dangers, and are equally devoid of the hardihood of ancient times, and of taſte for the elegance of modern refinement?

The following is the deſcription which Monteſquieu gives of that part of the nobility of France which formed the Court:

" L'ambition dans l'oiſivité, la baſſeſſe " dans l'orgueil, le deſir de s'enrichir ſans " travail, l'averſion pour la verité, la flatte-

" rie, la trahiſon, la perfidie, l'abandon de
" tous ſes engagemens, le mépris des de-
" voirs du citoyen, la crainte de la vertu du
" Prince, l'eſperance de ſes foibleſſes, et, plus
" que tout cela, le ridicule perpetuel jetté
" ſur la vertu, forment, je crois, le caractere
" du plus grand nombre des courtiſans*."

The general alteration of manners which Europe has ſuſtained of late, produced, in the opinion of many of their countrymen, a moſt ſtriking alteration in the character of the Nobleſſe of France. The opportunities of diſtinguiſhing themſelves in the field more rarely occurred; and when they did, it was generally in diſtant climates, to which thoſe

* Ambition with indolence; meanneſs with pride; deſire of enriching themſelves without labour; averſion for truth; flattery, perfidy; contempt for the duty of a citizen; fear of the virtues of their ſovereign, and hope from his foibles; and, above all, a continual attempt to turn virtue into ridicule, form the character of the majority of courtiers.

of the higher rank ſeldom like to go, and therefore are not ſent. Riches and promotion at home were obtained by court intrigue more than military merit, or merit of any kind; and the favours of the Crown, being too often diſtributed by the Princes, by their minions and their miſtreſſes, occaſioned much indignation. Many of the Nobleſſe, who came from the diſtant provinces, were treated ſo ſuperciliouſly by the aſſiduous and favoured courtiers at Verſailles, that they were greatly diſguſted with the preſent ſyſtem, and as ardently deſired a change in it as any roturier in the nation. Many officers of the army, after having long ſerved abroad, when they came to Verſailles, found their ſervices forgotten; and the neglect which they experienced was rendered more poignant by the attention which they ſaw paid to courtiers, ſuch as Monteſquieu deſcribes.

This accounts for the cold ſupport which,

at the beginning of the Revolution, the King and the court party received from ſome of the nobility, and a conſiderable number of the officers of the army.

At the ſame time the conduct and deportment of the Queen were different from what long eſtabliſhed forms dictated. So far from wiſhing to impreſs a continual recollection of the diſtance between herſelf and the courtiers, that diſtance was to her irkſome. Her natural impreſſions as a woman had more influence on her conduct, than the artificial deportment dictated to her as a Queen. She loved to deſcend from the throne, that ſhe might enjoy the comfort of ſociety. However neceſſary the pomp of etiquette and the frigidity of reſerve may be to high-born dulneſs and inſipid vanity, they were taſteleſs and fatiguing to a beautiful and lively woman, inſpired with the deſire, and conſcious of the power, of pleaſing. Her heart delighted in the confidences of friendſhip,

ſhip, and preferred that ſtyle of ſociety where there was at leaſt an appearance of equality. She gradually introduced, therefore, a familiarity of intercourſe between the King and ſubject, unknown before at the Court of Verſailles.

There are people however in every court who, being conſcious that they can derive importance or attention from no ſource but that of birth, are infinitely obſervant of the degrees of rank, and anxious that each individual ſhould receive the preciſe portion of reſpect to which birth gives him a claim; but while the various gradations and ſhades of heraldry were diſtinctly perceived by many perſons of this deſcription, the daughter of Maria Thereſa was by birth raiſed ſo high above them all, that to her they all ſeemed on a level. She diſtinguiſhed people by a different criterion—as they ſeemed to be more or leſs accompliſhed or agreeable; and by this means mortally offended

ſended many illuſtrious perſons of both ſexes, who had no pretenſions of that nature.

The King and Queen not only gave frequent private entertainments, but accepted of them from the Princes and other perſons of the court; and each of them had occaſionally parties, without the other being invited. The Queen, who was much fonder of ſuch entertainments than her huſband, had often private ſuppers, with dancing, where deep play was allowed, and where the uſual topics of Pariſian converſation, with all the vivacity and freedom of the Pariſian ſocieties, took place.

This did not exiſt long without malignant interpretation. Thoſe who loved etiquette, and derived what diſtinction was ſhewn them from it; thoſe who were left out of the Queen's parties; the prudes and duennas of the Court were offended. Had the Queen been better able to ſupport the

languor of pomp and the ſlavery of etiquette, the eye of ſuſpicion would have been lulled or kept at a diſtance, the tongue of ſlander overawed; and the gloom of formality, removing all idea of pleaſure, would have given the Court the appearance of more righteouſneſs, by being leſs gay.

In a beautiful, ſprightly, and unguarded woman *Calumny* found an eaſy prey; and afterwards being united with *Sedition*, they made a joint attack on the Queen, with a view not only to injure her, but to debaſe the King, and vilify royalty itſelf in the eyes of the people.

Reports and inſinuations of the vileſt nature were circulated by many who did not believe them, and believed by many more on no better grounds than that they were often repeated; and ſhe, who, for the reaſons above mentioned, ſeemed deſtined to give laſting peace and proſperity to France, was, by malignity in conjunction with ſedi-

tion, repreſented as the cauſe of public miſery, and the determined enemy of the country.

The oſtentatious and far more expenſive magnificence of Lewis XIV. although perhaps it would have been cenſured in Lewis XVI. yet could not have raiſed more indignation, than that ſpecies of profuſion which the latter, contrary to his own taſte, permitted, in compliance with that of thoſe around him.

The magnificent palaces, extenſive gardens, and numerous retinue, belonging to the former, could afford, it may be thought, as little enjoyment to a peaſant or manufacturer in the provinces of France, as the petits ſoupés at Trianon or the bals maſqués of St. Cloud; he might alſo be aſſured, that the one as much as the other was at the expence of his labour and the ſweat of his brow. Still he had a pride in hearing, that *his* King had finer palaces and gardens than

any King in Europe; whereas he felt mortified in hearing, that a parcel of worthleſs courtiers were banqueting at his expence, while he could with difficulty procure brown bread for himſelf and his family.—What the Court of Verſailles may perhaps have gained in enjoyment, by the rejection of etiquette and the introduction of eaſe and familiarity, it loſt in that admiration, which ſolemnity, ceremony, and diſtance, excite in the minds of the people. Objects in general appear ſmaller, in proportion to the diſtance at which they are placed; but the reverſe is often the caſe, in contemplating thoſe who are vulgarly called the Great. The degree to which ſome of them dwindle, when brought nearer and viewed with preciſion, is wonderful.

Some of the Princes of the blood, who were not judicious in the choice of their companions, *loſing their princely privilege with vile participation*, contributed greatly

to lower that ſenſe of awe and reſpect for royalty, which it is of ſo much importance to preſerve in all countries whoſe government is monarchical.

The expenſive diſſipation of the Court, and of the Comte d'Artois in particular, has been greatly exaggerated; but although that, taken at the higheſt calculation, could contribute little to the diminution of the public treaſure, it contributed more to the public diſcontent than much deeper ſources of expence would have done: a ſingle year, for example, of an unjuſt and unneceſſary war would have coſt the French nation much more money, and probably a great deal of blood, and yet the Court might have been allowed to commence it, without exciting any murmurs.

The part which France took in ſupport of American independence unqueſtionably haſtened the French revolution. In America many French officers caught republican

ſentiments and principles, which at their return ſpread with the rapidity of a new faſhion all over France. The ſentiments of loyalty became every day cooler in the breaſts of Frenchmen; they began to value popularity and the huzzas of the mob more than the ſmiles of the Sovereign; political clubs were eſtabliſhed as in England; the conduct of Government was canvaſſed in coffee-houſes; and the Palais Royal, without ceaſing to be the rendezvous of profligacy, became alſo the focus of ſedition.

The Cabinet of Verſailles expected, no doubt, that, without weakening France, the aſſiſtance given to America would greatly impoveriſh England. The effect has turned out otherwiſe; that meaſure, without much affecting the riches of England, has made France *poor indeed.*

The abolition of the houſehold troops of France may alſo be reckoned among the remote cauſes of the revolution. The Crown

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was by that meaſure deprived at once of a great ſupport and a conſiderable ſource of ſplendour. It is abſurd to imagine, that the people can abſtract the impreſſion made on their minds by the magnificence which they are accuſtomed to ſee accompany their King, from what they owe to his rank and perſonal qualities: diminiſh the firſt, and they will think more ſlightingly of the two others. This ill-judged reform, therefore, while it leſſened the veneration of the ſubjects for their Sovereign, overſpread the provinces with diſcontented gentlemen, and converted thoſe who at Verſailles would have remained ſubmiſſive ſervants, into acrimonious cenſurers at Paris.

It is impoſſible for any government to ſupport itſelf long, after a great majority of the governed are of opinion, that it is unjuſt and oppreſſive, and wiſh for an alteration.

This opinion had gained ſo much among

people of all conditions in France, with reſpect to *their* government, that it would have been wiſe in the adminiſtration to have acquieſced in the wiſhes of the people, by forming ſome moderate and prudent plan of reformation. Some things, for example, which had been thought proper and becoming at the time they were eſtabliſhed, but by a change of manners and other circumſtances were now conſidered as ridiculous, oppreſſive, and odious, might have been abeliſhed gradually, with ſuch efficacy as entirely to preclude, or greatly diminiſh, the probability of any of thoſe rapid and violent revolutions, which are never effected without bloodſhed and injuſtice.

But this meaſure of aboliſhing the houſehold troops, and thereby ſo conſiderably leſſening the influence and obſcuring the luſtre of the Crown, ſeems ſo violent, that it is difficult to conceive how it could have been adopted by any miniſter, however fond

of

of public freedom, who was at the ſame time a friend to monarchy in France.

The introduction of the German cuſtom of puniſhing the ſoldiers by blows, as it diſguſted the men, and led to that defection which afterwards appeared in the troops, has alſo been thought to have contributed to the revolution. This kind of puniſhment certainly occaſioned great deſertion when firſt introduced, not only among the private ſoldiers, but alſo among the ſerjeants and corporals; for it was thought debaſing to thoſe who were ordered to inflict it, as well as to thoſe on whom it was inflicted. Puniſhment is peculiarly neceſſary to keep thoſe who have arms in their hands in due order and obedience; but when permitted to be arbitrarily inflicted by men often under the influence of paſſion, it cannot appear ſo juſt, nor have ſo good an effect, as when appointed by a cool and impartial court martial.

One

One would naturally imagine that the practice of caning has a tendency to break the ſpirits of ſoldiers, and to make them think meanly of their profeſſion; and it can hardly be conceived, that to keep men's minds under the continual impreſſion of fear is a likely means of inſpiring them with courage. But we have been told with peculiar emphaſis of late, that what ſeems excellent in theory is abſurd in practice; and that many things which are very horrid to the mind to contemplate beforehand, are, notwithſtanding, very advantageous when put in practice. From the frequent repetition of this obſervation, and the manner in which it is applied, one would almoſt ſuſpect, that the following are meant to be recommended as axioms:

1. We ought to avoid every new meaſure which, to our feeble and circumſcribed underſtandings, ſeems likely to produce a good effect.

2. Although

2. Although a meaſure, from apparent abſurdity and the cruelty requiſite in the execution, revolts at once the head and the heart, it is not raſhly to be rejected on that account, as it may be attended with conſiderable advantages nothwithſtanding.

3. With regard to the practice of caning ſoldiers, as it has been of late entirely baniſhed from the French armies, that circumſtance is ſufficient of itſelf to determine a prudent and humane general to adopt it, and order the ſoldiers to be caned with more zeal than ever, that he may not be accuſed of imitating the French.

The ſame train of reaſoning goes to prove, that the patriotiſm which actuated many Frenchmen at the beginning of the revolution, and the efforts they made to reform abuſes and obtain a free conſtitution, having failed of ſucceſs, ought to ſerve as a warning to mankind never to make a ſimilar attempt again; but rather to combine in

eſtabliſhing

eſtabliſhing deſpotic governments of Herculean force to cruſh the hydra of democracy wherever ſhe tries to rear her ſavage heads. And as the ſpirit of freedom in France has been perverted to the moſt wicked purpoſes, by a ſet of the moſt abominable men that ever the earth produced, therefore the ſpirit of paſſive obedience and ſlaviſh ſubmiſſion ſhould alone be cheriſhed in every country, and honoured by every government, for the tranquillity of the human race. And, completely to ſecure the peace and proſperity of the governing power in all nations, which is the chief object of government, it would be expedient to grant it the power, in times of alarm, to oblige all ſuſpected perſons to wear fetters, ſince nobody can deny the wiſdom and juſtice of putting madmen and murderers in chains.

Another circumſtance which had conſiderable influence in haſtening, and much more

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in perverting, the revolution in France, was the fixing on Verſailles as the place for the States General to meet at. Although it was impoſſible to foreſee all the miſchief which has ariſen from that meaſure, it might naturally have occurred, that an Aſſembly which, it was ſuppoſed, was to act with freedom and independence, would have been placed with more propriety at a greater diſtance from the populous and turbulent city of Paris.

This is ſo evident, that many have thought it could not eſcape M. Necker; yet he firſt adviſed the King to convoke the Aſſembly at Paris, and did not propoſe Verſailles, until he found the King and the Miniſters poſitively againſt that meaſure; and as it is not eaſy to aſſign a good reaſon for this, it has been imputed to M. Necker's fondneſs for popular applauſe, and to his thinking, that the more evident his popularity was, the greater would be his influence

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with the Aſſembly. He little thought, that the very ſcheme which he formed for the augmentation of his own influence was, in a ſhort time, to be a principal cauſe of the annihilation, not only of his influence, but of the influence of reaſon, juſtice, and humanity, and of ſubjugating the National Aſſembly, and the nation itſelf, to the moſt dreadful tyranny that ever oppreſſed mankind.

It may be thought improper to mention the arbitrary nature of the French government as a cauſe of the revolution, becauſe it has ſubſiſted many years, and becauſe it ſubſiſts ſtill in other countries where no revolution has taken place; but *that* may prove a powerful cauſe in certain ſituations, which would have remained inactive in others; in no other nation do the circumſtances above enumerated occur in addition to their arbitrary government, nor did they ever before occur in France.

Perhaps

Perhaps all thoſe cauſes together would not have produced the revolution, without the calling together of the States General; and notwithſtanding the greatneſs of the deficit, it is the opinion of ſome, that this meaſure might have been eluded. However that may be, the diſorder in the French finances was ſo great, ſome time before the year 1789, that the impoſition of very conſiderable additional taxes was thought the only effectual remedy; but as the people thought themſelves already overloaded, and were in a ſtate of mutinous diſcontent, the application of this remedy required prudence and delicacy.

CHAP.

CHAPTER III.

The Notables—M. de Calonne—The Clergy—The Archbiſhop of Toulouſe Miniſter—Abbé Vermon—A Bed of Juſtice—Parliament of Paris refuſe to regiſter the King's Edicts—Parliament baniſhed—Duke of Orleans—Two Counſellors of the Parliament ſent to Priſon.

IT had been long the uſage for the Parliament of France to regiſter every new impoſition. The tax was indeed not conſidered legal by the people, till the regiſtration had taken place; and it ſometimes happened, that, inſtead of obeying the edict, the Parliament made a remonſtrance, pointing out the hardſhip or impropriety of the tax, and praying the King to reconſider or withdraw it.

So

So much the Kings of France themſelves admitted that the Parliament had a right to do; but having made the remonſtrance, it was inſiſted that the parliamentary function was completed, and it remained with the King to give what weight to it he pleaſed. If he ſtill inſiſted on the tax, it was then the duty of the Parliament to regiſter without farther reſiſtance, on a letter from the King, called Lettre de Juſſion, being addreſſed to them.

The friends of prerogative aſſerted, that this regiſtration of taxes was a mere matter of form, and that the King's edict gave them all their efficacy, independent of that ceremony; whereas others contended, that no tax could be legally levied till it had received the ſanction of Parliament.

The ſpirit of Whig and Tory had this extent and no more in France, before the American war; but ſoon after that period

the ſpirit of the firſt became much more ardent and encroaching.

In times of difficulty, when new taxes were abſolutely neceſſary, and yet miniſters were afraid to impoſe them, it had on various occaſions been found neceſſary to ſummon the States-General (les Etats Generaux), and leave it to them to point out the propereſt method of impoſing and levying the neceſſary taxes.

Les Etats Generaux are an aſſembly conſiſting of deputies from the three orders of citizens in France—namely the Nobility, the Clergy, and the Tiers Etat; the laſt implies all the citizens of France who are neither of the nobility nor clergy.

The meaſure of ſummoning the States-General was much talked of at the time when M. de Calonne was controller general of the finances; but it required much prudence and circumſpection on his part,

before he decided how to act in the preſent circumſtances.

When moderate reforms only are required in a government with which the people in general are well ſatisfied, the ſooner they are made the better; becauſe they prevent the progreſs of diſcontent, and may be made without riſk: but when great abuſes have taken place, when the people are highly diſcontented, and demand important changes, at the very time that there is a neceſſity to impoſe new taxes, it is difficult to know how to proceed.

To attempt the impoſition of taxes, without firſt agreeing to the reformation required, may drive the people to reſiſtance. To yield entirely to the requiſitions of the people, may be conſidered by them as a proof of weakneſs in the government, and encourage them to riſe and go beyond reaſonable bounds in their demands.

If it is attempted to make reformation

and taxation go hand in hand, by committing both to the conſideration of a general aſſembly of the States, it may be difficult afterwards to take the management of the public affairs out of the hands of ſuch an aſſembly, delegated by the nation at large; becauſe a number of men convened for ſuch a purpoſe naturally create courage, and communicate a ſpirit of enterpriſe to each other; and, in a country where many oppreſſive privileges and invidious diſtinctions, or in other words abuſes, exiſt, the intended reformation may very poſſibly turn out a revolution.

M. de Calonne ſeems to have been aware of this; and therefore, however ſolicitous he might be to avoid the odium of new and heavy impoſitions, he alſo wiſhed to elude the calling the States-General, by adopting a leſs formidable expedient.

It was an eſtabliſhed practice in France, for every municipality to elect a number of

its moſt reſpectable citizens, who, on extraordinary and important occaſions, being joined to the common and uſual council became the *general* aſſembly of the municipality. This laſt additional body was called the body of *Notables*. It has likewiſe been cuſtomary for the Kings of France, on certain emergencies, to ſummon thoſe of their ſubjects of whoſe judgment they had a good opinion, and conſult with them. Theſe men, while their political function continued, were alſo called Notables. The moſt eſſential difference between ſuch an aſſembly and the aſſembly of the States-General ſeems to be, that the latter is entirely choſen by the King; whereas the former is appointed, under particular regulations, by the people.

M. de Calonne determined to ſummon an aſſembly of Notables, in the expectation that a council ſummoned in the King's name, and elected by himſelf, would rea-

dily approve of the plans which he intended to lay before them; and as part of theſe plans were of a popular nature, he imagined they would render him popular alſo. The effect was the reverſe; for people who are prejudiced againſt any perſon are more apt to conceive an ill opinion of a good propoſal, on account of the propoſer, than a good opinion of the propoſer on account of the propoſition.

The principal tax propoſed by him was the Timbre or Stamp Tax, which it was thought would have produced about thirty millions of livres annually.

Many of his other operations would have been chiefly at the expence of the Clergy—which drew upon him the hatred of that body, without procuring him the love of the reſt of the nation. His propoſed regulations were moſtly directed againſt the eccleſiaſtical droits ſeigneuriaux honoriſiques; as their right of appointing judges, the rights

rights reſpecting fiſhing and hunting, and ſome others equally unconnected with the functions of clergymen. Although theſe produced but a ſmall revenue, while in the hands of eccleſiaſtics, who, on account of their not reſiding on their benefices, could not reap the full advantage of them, yet the droits honoriſiques were purchaſed at a great price by the gentlemen of the country, who were all ambitious of becoming ſeigneurs. Many people ſaw no injuſtice, but great propriety, in diveſting the clergy of rights ſo foreign from their profeſſion. The indifference with which men ſee the rights of others invaded, often forms a ſtrong contraſt with their ſenſibility when the leaſt attack is made on their own. Many of the laity on this occaſion inſiſted on the impropriety and injuſtice of the original grant, but laid no ſtreſs on the hardſhip of taking from men what they had poſſeſſed for ages. The Clergy on the other hand exclaimed againſt the impiety of robbing the Church, and

the iniquity of ſtripping men of rights which they have long enjoyed, but left entirely out of the argument the abſurdity of ever granting them ſuch rights. Had the men's ſituations been reverſed, their reaſoning would have undergone the ſame change.

By the alienation of thoſe privileges ſo uſeleſs to the clergy, the government would, as I am aſſured, have gained an yearly revenue of four or five hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. The number of clergy at that time in France was prodigious, as the following calculation will ſhew: Forty-five thouſand curés; the ſame number of vicars; cathedral and collegiate canons, comprehending the grand vicars, fifteen thouſand; poſtulants and expectants, ten thouſand; old men retired from the duties of their profeſſion, three thouſand; making in all one hundred and eighteen thouſand men; to which number may be added, forty thouſand monks, and about

twenty-five

twenty-five thouſand nuns: in all one hundred and eighty-three thouſand perſons, employed excluſively in the duties of religion, and ſupported by donations of various kinds at the public expence.

It is curious to obſerve how effects ſometimes change into cauſes, which produce other effects of a nature diametrically oppoſite to what firſt produced themſelves.

A fervent zeal for religion, no doubt, was the cauſe of the vaſt accumulation of wealth belonging to the church in France; and the ample proviſion made for eccleſiaſtics of all denominations, was the cauſe of the vaſt number that were of that profeſſion: and there can be as little doubt that the great numbers of eccleſiaſtics, with that profuſion of revenue for their uſe, contributed greatly to the prejudice which took place againſt the clergy, and which has ended in a coolneſs and neglect, not only of them but of the religion they teach.

Every poſſible effort was made by the clergy

clergy to turn M. de Calonne from his plan of attack upon them; but as he perſevered, the animoſity of that body againſt him augmented every hour, and at length came to that degree, that none of them went to his houſe. Among the other extraordinary things, therefore, to be ſeen in France at this period, one was, the levee of a Miniſter without a ſingle eccleſiaſtic attending it.

The Archbiſhop of Toulouſe had long indulged the deſire of being Miniſter. His hopes of ſucceſs were chiefly founded on the protection ſhewn to him by the Queen. He had hitherto been diſappointed, however, by the ſmall eſtimation in which the King held his talents and character.

The Abbé de Vermon was a creature of the Archbiſhop of Toulouſe. He had formerly been at Vienna, and, at the recommendation of the Archbiſhop of Toulouſe, had been one of the Queen's inſtructors before ſhe left that court, and had retained a conſiderable ſhare of her confidence. It

was

was through the Abbé Vermon that the Archbiſhop had acquired the Queen's favour. The ſame Abbé had always kept the Archbiſhop in hopes of ſucceeding in obtaining the ſituation of Miniſter, and now aſſured him that nothing could ſo much favour his ambition as the diſgrace of M. de Calonne. He repreſented this as a fortunate moment for the accompliſhment of his wiſhes; for the King, who was known to have a ſtrong deſire to appeaſe the irritated minds of the clergy, could find no more conſpicuous opportunity than by chooſing a diſtinguiſhed member of that order as ſucceſſor to their enemy. To this he added, that the great reputation of the Archbiſhop as a man of talents and a ſtateſman, his weight in the Aſſembly of the Notables, with the protection of the Queen, would ſecure to him the ſituation he wiſhed for in the adminiſtration, as ſoon as M. de Calonne ſhould be diſmiſſed; and therefore all means

ſhould

ſhould be taken to incline the King to that meaſure, whenever any pretext ſhould offer.

M. de Calonne imprudently furniſhed one himſelf ſoon after; for having perceived that the debates of the Aſſembly made a great impreſſion on the public mind, and hurt the public credit, he cauſed a memorial to be publiſhed in the King's name, and circulated with much profuſion, aſſerting that it was not true that the majority of the committees of the Aſſembly of Notables refuſed the demands of the King; that the neceſſary previous diſcuſſions on thoſe demands, which had taken place and ſtill continued, ought not to be conſidered as a refuſal; and that it was evident, that the Aſſembly intended almoſt unanimouſly to adopt the principal demands of his Majeſty.

This aſſertion, which was not literally exact, and which it was improper to publiſh, if it had been ever ſo much to be expected,

pected, offended the majority of the Aſſembly, and produced a violent clamour againſt M. de Calonne, which being aſſiſted by the Queen, and by the King's aunts, whoſe piety made them take part againſt him as the enemy of the clergy, at laſt the King determined to diſmiſs him.

The Archbiſhop of Toulouſe was named Miniſter; but, to ſave the odium which would accompany his taking the identical place of the perſon he had undermined, he had another appointed to the office of Controller of the Finance, who performed the duty under his direction, as all the other Miniſters did; the King, for that purpoſe, having conferred on the Archbiſhop the title of Principal Miniſter.

M. de Calonne thus diſgraced at Court, abandoned by the Aſſembly of the Notables, and unpopular in the nation, quitted France full of rage and indignation.

The Aſſembly itſelf was ſoon after diſ-

ſolved;

ſolved; but the effects which the meeting of this Aſſembly had produced were not ſo eaſily effaced. During their continuance, the general topics of converſation all over France were very different from what they uſed to be. The immenſity of the deficit, the prodigality of the Court, the diſtreſſed ſtate of the kingdom, were the prevailing ſubjects of diſcuſſion in all companies, and were treated with equal warmth and nearly equal volubility by both ſexes.

The Abbé de Vermon and others had lamented theſe increaſing evils, and had indicated the adminiſtration of the Archbiſhop as the remedy. The remedy did not prove equal to the diſeaſe. The new Miniſter condemned ſome of the meaſures of his predeceſſor, and ſo far the public went with him; he propoſed others to ſupply their place, but they proved as unpalatable as the former. Inſtead of regiſtering the decrees for his taxes, the Parliament of Paris remonſtrated

ſtrated againſt them. The cry for the aſſembling of the States General became louder and more general; and people talked with more boldneſs than ever. If the government, ſaid they, cannot diſpenſe with freſh ſuccours from the people, neither ought it to diſpenſe with aſking them from thoſe who, being delegated by the nation, have the ſole right to grant them.

The Notables, previous to their diſſolution, had recommended a land and a ſtamp tax, the edicts for which were ſent to the Parliament to be enregiſtered. As it was foreſeen that the Parliament would be averſe to the firſt, which was to be an equal impoſt affecting thoſe of its own members, who had been hitherto exempted as part of the Nobleſſe, extraordinary meaſures were thought expedient.

With a view of ſtriking awe and producing ſubmiſſion, by a diſplay of pageantry inter-

intermingled with military parade, the Miniſter prevailed on the King to ſummon a bed of juſtice.

This meaſure would have had a better chance of being ſucceſsful before the ſitting of the Notables. The diſcuſſions that had taken place during thoſe ſittings, had heated the public mind and rendered the people more daring. The Pariſians ſhewed more indignation than terror at the military force which attended the King to the Parliament. Monſieur, the King's elder brother, though of that ſerious and reſerved character which is generally ſo much diſliked in France, was received with applauſe by the people, becauſe he had declared himſelf againſt M. de Calonne. The Count d'Artois, whoſe diſpoſition and manners had more affinity with the national character, was inſulted by them, becauſe he had been conſidered as his protector.

It was expected that the Parliament would not have the boldneſs to diſobey the King's orders pronounced by his own lips. To adviſe his Majeſty to riſk the experiment, however, was no proof of the Miniſter's prudence.

The Parliament, driven to the alternative of diſobeying the King or provoking the People, choſe the former. This circumſtance alone proves, that the revolution was already wonderfully advanced. After having for ages exerciſed the right of ſanctioning taxes, and having maintained the doctrine that this right belonged to them excluſively, the Parliament now declared, that they had not the power of regiſtering taxes which were not conſented to by the nation; and humbly demanded the ſpeedy aſſembling of the States-General.

This unexpected declaration diſconcerted the Court, and threw the Pariſians into tranſports of joy.

It was imagined that nothing could have rendered the Parliament more popular than this declaration. The Miniſter proved that this was a miſtake; for he at once brought a great degree of odium on the Court, and raiſed the popularity of the Parliament ſtill higher than it was before, by prevailing on the King to baniſh them to Troyes.

Popularity in France is more fluctuating and of ſhorter duration than in any other country. That of the Parliament of Paris was very ſhort-lived; it was extinguiſhed by their doing in exile what they had refuſed in the capital. They were prevailed on to regiſter a tax, and ſoon after returned to Paris.

A loan was propoſed by the Miniſter, and approved of by ſeveral members of the Parliament. This meaſure was to be decreed in the King's preſence. The Duke of Orleans proteſted againſt ſome proceedings on this occaſion.

It was a new thing in France for a Prince of the blood, not in actual rebellion nor at the head of an army, to oppoſe the will of the Sovereign. By ſome this conduct was imputed to conſcientious motives, and by others to criminal ambition. Moſt probably it proceeded from neither. The Duke had been in England, where he acquired a violent taſte for the dreſs and ſome of the amuſements of that country, particularly that of horſe-racing, in which he obtained ſome knowledge, and was thought to have converted it to his advantage at his return to France. He had alſo been delighted with the oppoſition occaſionally exhibited in the Britiſh Parliament to the meaſures of Government; and his vanity was flattered with the idea of tranſmitting this practice, with other novelties, to France; thinking that, during the preſent tide of popular opinion, he might with perſonal ſafety lead that faſhion.

The Duke of Orleans, however, was baniſhed to one of his eſtates near Paris; and two counſellors of the Parliament, who had ſpoken in ſupport of his proteſt, were ſeized, and ſent to ſeparate priſons.

After the declaration which the Parliament of Paris had made, there was very ſmall probability that the public would be ſatisfied without the aſſembling of the States. The Court, however, was exceedingly averſe to this meaſure, and uſed every device to evade it; but it was not likely that what had been attempted in vain under the direction of M. de Calonne, in times of leſs turbulency, would be accompliſhed at the preſent moment by a Miniſter of leſs ſhrewdneſs and capacity. It was not in the power of the Court to ſharpen his wit, or enlarge his capacity; but what was poſſible to do was done for him. The Archbiſhop of Toulouſe was declared Principal Miniſter; and encouraged by this new dignity, he formed

formed a ſcheme which he hoped would enable the Government to diſpenſe with the Parliament as well as the States-General.

This ſcheme was to eſtabliſh a number of courts of juſtice in France, and at the ſame time to create a grand court under the title of *Cour. pleniere*, all the members of which were to be named by the Crown; and the expreſs purpoſe of this laſt court was to enregiſter the King's edicts.

The edict ordaining this important innovation, with ſome others, was printed at Verſailles; the whole being intended to be kept ſecret, until it ſhould be laid before the different Parliaments at the ſame moment in the beginning of May.

There is no queſtion that, if this ſcheme had been ſubmitted to, it muſt have had the effect propoſed. The credit of defeating it has been generally attributed to M. d'Eſpremenil, a member of the Parliament of Paris,

who had the addreſs to procure a copy of the intended edicts, which he immediately communicated to that body, among whom they excited great indignation and the ſpirit of reſiſtance. It ſeems exceedingly probable, however, that they would have excited the ſame indignation and as effectual a reſiſtance as ſoon as they appeared, although the publication had not taken place until the time fixed on by the Miniſter. I cannot give the ſame importance, therefore, that ſome have done, to M. d'Eſpremenil's diſcovery; nor do I think the policy of keeping the project ſecret, wonderfully profound: for before the copy of the edicts was obtained, it was known that a paper was printing by orders of the Adminiſtration at Verſailles, inſtead of being printed at the uſual preſs at Paris; that ſentries were placed in the printing-houſe, to prevent thoſe employed from converſing with any other perſons. Thoſe circumſtances, with

the

the myſterious conduct of Miniſters, could not fail to create a prejudice againſt the edicts, before the nature of them could be known. Men are uſually more afraid of objects in the dark than in the light. Ordonnances, concealed with ſo much care, created, it is probable, more terror than if they had been publiſhed in the uſual way without any air of myſtery or concealment. Violent harangues were pronounced in the Parliament againſt thoſe edicts, and ſtronger inſinuations were riſked againſt the conduct of the Miniſter, than had been heard in that Aſſembly ſince the days of the Fronde.

M. d'Eſpremenil became the peculiar object of miniſterial reſentment, for having brought the project to light a little ſooner than was intended. A lettre de cachet was iſſued againſt him; he eſcaped from the exempt, and took refuge in the Parliament, which immediately decreed

that he was under the ſafeguard of the King and of the Law; and at the ſame time ſent a deputation of their members to Verſailles, with a petition to the King in favour of D'Eſpremenil, and another member of their body againſt whom an order of arreſt had been alſo iſſued. It was decreed at the ſame time, that the Court ſhould continue their ſitting until the deputation, which conſiſted of the Firſt Preſident and four Counſellors, ſhould return.

They arrived at Verſailles at ſeven in the evening; at midnight they were given to underſtand, that they could not be received by his Majeſty. And the next day a body of troops ſurrounded the hall of Parliament, and no perſon was allowed to enter or go out. At eleven in the morning, an officer who commanded the troops entered, and required that M. d'Eſpremenil ſhould be delivered up to him. The whole Court,

anſwered one of the members, is compoſed of Eſpremenils.

The officer not knowing how to proceed in circumſtances ſo new and ſo delicate, retired, and ſent a meſſage for freſh orders. In this ſtate things remained for the ſpace of twelve hours, the Parliament ſurrounded with troops, while a vaſt concourſe of the inhabitants of Paris viewed the ſcene with indignation, and might, by the ſlighteſt incident, have been provoked to attack the troops, and begun a ſcene of mutual bloodſhed and ſlaughter.

This was prevented by the prudence of M. d'Eſpremenil and his friend; who ſeeing there was a determination in the Miniſter to ſeize them, delivered themſelves into the hands of the officer; and one was carried to the ſtate priſon in the iſle of St. Marguerite; the other, M. Monſabert, to that of Pierre Fnciſe.

This open rupture between the Court and

and the Parliament, while it tended to weaken the influence of each, foſtered a third power which had not hitherto been properly attended to by either, and has finally proved the deſtruction of both.

CHAPTER IV.

Diſcontents—Parliament remonſtrates—Cour Pleniere—Bed of Juſtice at Verſailles—Members of the Parliament of Paris proteſt—Certain Peers addreſs the King—Mild Anſwer of the King—Other Courts imitate the Example of the Parliament of Paris—The Miniſter reſigns—Inſtances of Bigotry and Perſecution—Reflections.

IN the preſent diſpoſition of the public, nothing could be more imprudent than giving a ſpectacle ſo likely to rouſe indignation, as the ſight of two Magiſtrates in their robes carried through the ſtreets by a military force; and that it paſſed without bloodſhed before the eyes of a multitude of exaſperated Frenchmen is not the leaſt extraordinary circumſtance.

But what ſeemed to have been prevented,

as if by miracle, on this remarkable occaſion, was threatened on many trifling occurrences afterwards. The hatred againſt the Archbiſhop was ſo great, that his name could not be mentioned, nor any thing that could be conſtrained into an alluſion to him uttered, without exciting ſymptoms of fury againſt him.

The tragedy of Athalie was advertiſed at the Comedie Francoiſe. It is a religious piece; and many were ſurpriſed to find the houſe crowded: but they underſtood the reaſon when they recollected, that there is a wicked prieſt, who is alſo a favourite at court, among the dramatis perſonæ, and when they obſerved in what manner the following verſes which he pronounces were applied by the audience:

Qu'importe qu'au hazard un ſang vil ſoit verſé?
Eſt-ce aux Rois à garder cette lente juſtice?
Leur ſureté ſouvent depend d'un prompt ſupplice,
N'allons point les gêner d'un ſoin embarraſſant,
Dès qu'on leur eſt ſuſpect, on n'eſt plus innocent.

To

To this it is anſwered,

Hé quoi, Mathan? D'un prêtre eſt-cela le langage?

And the whole houſe reſounded with applauſe, which was followed by many curſes directed againſt Mathan; and nobody miſtook who was meant by Mathan.

The Parliament, encouraged by the ſpirit which the people diſplayed not only at Paris but all over the kingdom, ſo far from being intimidated by the violent ſteps taken againſt them by the Court, manifeſted more courage than ever. They prepared a remonſtrance to the King, on the violence of invading the ſeat of juſtice with armed men, the tyranny exerciſed in the ſeizure of two of their members, and the refuſal of receiving their deputation. They proceed to ſtate their apprehenſions of a deſign of overthrowing the *eſtabliſhed conſtitution*, in ſuch terms as convey an idea, that France was poſſeſſed of a very free and excellent form of government; for they inſinuate

that

that there has exiſted, ever ſince the year 1771, a plan to overturn it, and introduce an arbitrary government in its ſtead; but that the King's authority would be reſpected only in proportion to its being regulated by law and equity.

The Parliament were much to be praiſed for doing all they could to obtain freedom to their country; but if they required no more than ſhe poſſeſſed in the year 1771, their demand was certainly too moderate. If the Parliament imagined, that ſtoutly aſſerting that the government had been formerly free would contribute to its being in future what they declared it to have formerly been, the aſſertion was one of the moſt excuſable, not to ſay laudable, deviations from truth, that ever was made by a body of men.

The Miniſter, in the mean time, proceeded in his favourite ſcheme of eſtabliſhing the Cour pleniere, which was to be compoſed

compoſed not of lawyers only, but alſo of perſons of higher rank and other profeſſions, and intended in many reſpects as a ſubſtitute for the Parliament, particularly in the office of regiſtering the King's edicts. For the formation of this court a bed of juſtice was held at Verſailles on the 8th of May, to which the Parliament of Paris was ſummoned, and attended accordingly.

It ſeemed peculiarly ſevere to the members, not only to be condemned to ruin, but alſo to be ſummoned to lend a helping hand to their own deſtruction.

This bed of juſtice was opened by a long ſpeech from the King, in which he accuſed the Parliament of having deviated from their duty, and interrupted the uſeful operations of government in many inſtances, for a year paſt, and of having encouraged the provincial Parliaments to follow their example. His Majeſty added, that although he had been obliged to uſe ſome acts of rigour

rigour to ſome of their body, he did not intend to deſtroy his Parliament, but to bring them within the limits of their original inſtitution, which they had greatly overleaped He finiſhed by giving a general idea of the new court, the nature of which was more particularly explained by M. de Lamoignon, the Keeper of the Seals; after which the various ordinances were regiſtered, and the King concluded by a ſecond ſpeech, in which he expreſſed a hope that thoſe members of Parliament whom he had nominated to form part of the Cour pleniere would by their fidelity and obedience merit his favour, and induce him to call others of their body to that Aſſembly; adding, that he was fully convinced that the new inſtitution would, upon the whole, contribute to the good and proſperity of the nation at large.

If his Majeſty believed that this laſt obſervation would have made thoſe to whom it was addreſſed ſatisfied with a meaſure

which

which was evidently hurtful to their own particular intereſt and importance, he muſt alſo have thought them more diſintereſted and virtuous than mankind in general, or even than that claſs whoſe peculiar duty and profeſſion it is to explain law and adminiſter juſtice, are ſuppoſed to be.

The King's ſpeech was heard in ſilence. That this ſilence implied diſapprobation appeared early the following morning, when all the members of the Parliament, who were to compoſe the Cour pleniere, drew up a proteſt againſt the proceedings of the former day, in which they diſclaimed having given any ſanction to them; and declared that they all declined any ſeat in the Cour pleniere.

Along with this proteſt, a letter from ſix Peers was delivered to the King, in which they expreſs their ſorrow that an attempt ſhould have been made to ſubvert the fundamental principles of the government;

that they could take no part in the functions which the new court impoſed on the peerage; and that they were prompted in this by zeal for the true intereſt of his Majeſty.

It was to be expected, that ſuch a proteſt of the Parliament, ſupported by ſuch a letter from ſix Peers, would have made the Court either renounce the whole ſcheme of the Cour pleniere, or elſe immediately bring forth thoſe means, which hitherto had been concealed from the public, on which they relied for making it effectual; the King's adviſers muſt have thought the means they were to uſe very powerful, ſince they had to overcome the reſiſtance of the whole Parliament and part of the Peerage, the diſapprobation of the majority of the Clergy, and that marked averſion which had been ſhewn to the meaſure from the beginning by the public at large.

A few hours after the Parliament's proteſt

teſt and the Peers' letter had been preſented to the King, that part of the Parliament which was to be of the Cour pleniere was unexpectedly ſummoned by his Majeſty to re-aſſemble in the hall from which they had juſt withdrawn. And when the King appeared in perſon, all were perſuaded that they were about to hear that the obnoxious meaſure was to be abandoned; or, if they ſhould be diſappointed in that expectation, they thought they would be ſo far gratified at leaſt, as to learn what they had tortured their ingenuity in vain to divine—namely, what the reſources were on which the Miniſter depended for making it good.

But after ſo much expectation and curioſity had been excited, every body was ſurpriſed to hear his Majeſty repeat, with little alteration or addition, what he had ſaid the day before, reſpecting his determination to carry the new ordinances into execution;

immediately after which he dismissed the Assembly.

The most probable conjecture that was made to account for a scene which seemed so devoid of meaning was, that on receiving the protest and letter, something had been resolved on by the Court, which required to be directly announced to the Parliament; and that after the members were summoned, the measure so suddenly adopted had been as suddenly renounced, and the King obliged to meet them before a plausible pretext had been thought of for calling them together.

Whatever may be in this, those Magistrates met again the same evening, and in a new address to the King confirmed their former resolutions, and ordered the same to be printed, and dispersed all over the kingdom. The following paragraph will give an idea of this second declaration:

" Nous declarons que nous persisterons

. jusqu'à

juſqu'à notre dernier ſoupir dans les arrêtés précédement pris par ladite cour, et dans les principes y contenus*."

The King ſent back to each of the ſix Peers his letter with the following anſwer:

"" Mon Couſin, pour ne pas vous marquer trop de déplaiſir de la lettre que vous m'avez écrite, je vous la renvoie. Je veux bien ne l'attribuer qu'à un premier mouvement, et je vous prie d'y reflechir ſérieuſement †."

Whether it was the extreme moderation of this letter, or ſome other conſideration, that produced the effect, is not known; but three of the Peers withdrew their ſupport of the Parliament's proteſt immediately after they had received the King's anſwer.

* We declare that we will perſiſt to our laſt breath in the proteſts already taken by the Parliament, and in the principles they contain.

† My Couſin—That I may not ſhew too much diſpleaſure at the letter you have written to me, I ſend it back to you. I am willing to impute it to a haſty impulſe, and I deſire you will reconſider it with attention.

In the mean time orders had been ſent to Paris, for clapping the King's ſeal upon the bureaus containing the papers and archives belonging to the Parliament, and for locking them, and carrying away the keys. The other Parliaments in the kingdom were alſo ſuſpended from their functions, from holding any meetings, and from iſſuing any memorials or reſolutions on public affairs.

The Court of Chatelet, ſo far from being intimidated by, or ſhewing obedience to theſe meaſures and orders, after a long ſitting, publiſhed a declaration containing a proteſt in the ſtrongeſt terms againſt them. This example was followed by other Courts in the provinces. Strong ſymptoms of diſcontent were manifeſted all over the kingdom, which ended in inſurrections in Britany, Dauphiny, Languedoc, and other parts.

An hurricane of unexampled violence, which happened on the 13th of July 1788,

by

by its extenſive devaſtation in various parts of France occaſioned much private miſery, in addition to the public diſcontent which before exiſted.

The Miniſter, now Archbiſhop of Sens, being terrified from holding any longer a place which had produced to him ſo much inward anguiſh and outward odium, or remaining any longer in a country where the elements as well as the people ſeemed to declare againſt him, ſuddenly reſigned, and ſet out with all poſſible expedition for Italy.

It is ſaid that he earneſtly adviſed the King to replace M. Necker in his former ſituation as Miniſter of the Finance. Whether this was true or not, it is certain that the Archbiſhop's friends took great pains to ſpread the report, with a view to render him leſs obnoxious to the people; and it has even been aſſerted, that to this report the Miniſter was indebted for effecting a ſafe retreat out of France; as the people

were often diſpoſed to ſtop and inſult him—but deſiſted, upon being aſſured that it was by his advice that M. Necker was re-appointed.

This fact will appear the more curious when it is recollected, that in the year 1572 a King of France iſſued an order to maſſacre all the Proteſtants in his dominions, and the order was obeyed with alacrity by his Catholic ſubjects in the capital and in ſome of the provinces.

In 1593, the moſt accompliſhed of all their Princes was obliged to abjure the Proteſtant religion, to render himſelf acceptable to the French people.

In 1685 the edict of Nantes in favour of the Proteſtants of France was revoked, and prodigious numbers of the moſt induſtrious inhabitants were driven out of the kingdom by the deſpicable bigotry of their Grand Monarch and the furious zeal of the people.

Even ſo lately as the year 1762, the Proteſtant clergy were executed legally for the exerciſe of their profeſſion. One of the name of Rochette was taken up for that crime at Montauban, and carried to Toulouſe, where he was condemned and executed. Three brothers of the name of Grenier, Proteſtants, of a noble family in Languedoc, having made ſome endeavours for the releaſe of the miniſter Rochette when he was firſt taken up, were apprehended, conveyed to Toulouſe with him, and condemned to loſe their heads; which ſentence was put in execution.

But the ſpirit of bigotry and perſecution which prevailed in the ſouth of France, particularly at Toulouſe, appeared in a ſtill more ſhocking ſhape, in the cruelties exerciſed on the unfortunate Calas family, as they are particularized in the writings of Voltaire, and were proved before the Parliament of Paris.

One

One example among many, of the great and rapid alterations that have taken place in the public opinion within theſe few laſt years, is, that notwithſtanding ſome of the inſtances above mentioned occurred in the year 1762, yet in the year 1788 a Prime Miniſter of France, the Archbiſhop of that very Toulouſe, found protection in travelling through France, and was ſkreened from the indignation of the people, through the influence and popularity of a man who was at once a ſtranger, a republican, and a heretic.

Any material alteration in the opinions and prejudices of a whole nation took much longer time in former ages to be brought about. Since material alterations in the public opinions may, for reaſons which are ſo obvious that they need not be pointed out, be effected with infinitely more rapidity than heretofore, it is of more importance now than ever for all Governments, particularly thoſe

of

of free countries, to be alert in attending to theſe alterations as they occur, that they may be able in time to preclude the miſchiefs which ariſe from the current of public opinion bearing one way, and the meaſures of Government another; for, to maintain tranquillity, one of two things muſt be done: a Miniſter muſt either adapt his meaſures to the public opinion; or, which is a much more difficult taſk, and requires very uncommon talents to accompliſh, he muſt turn round the public opinion in favour of his meaſures—which taſk, difficult as it is, has ſometimes been performed with infinite ability and addreſs.

No miniſter of this ſtamp had appeared for a long time in France. The general ſentiments of the nation had been flowing for ſeveral years in oppoſition to the nature of the exiſting government. Many ancient inſtitutions, eſtabliſhed by power, cemented by craft, and venerated by ſuperſtition, were

were now looked on as ridiculous, and complained of as oppreſſive. A few well-judged conceſſions and alterations, had they been made in time, might have proved ſatisfactory, and reſtored tranquillity. But old grievances remained unredreſſed, new ſources of complaint were daily ſpringing up, and ſuch an accumulation of diſcontent had been formed as obſcured the political hemiſphere, and threatened an approaching ſtorm.

The veſſel of the ſtate never was in a more ſhattered condition, never was aſſailed by more violent ſtorms, and never had been entruſted to a pilot leſs qualified for ſteering her through the ſand banks and rocks among which ſhe was involved.

The Archbiſhop of Toulouſe, although he might have foreſeen all the dangers he had to encounter, before he took ſuch pains to ſuperſede M. de Calonne, ſeemed not to have diſcovered them till after he was Miniſter,

niſter, and to have been deprived of all preſence of mind as ſoon as they opened to his view. He adopted meaſures equally weak and inconſiſtent. Firſt he aſſumes an air of courage, and tries to ſtrike terror by the parade of a bed of juſtice, and by baniſhing the Parliament. He then recalls the Parliament, and ſeems diſpoſed to court and conciliate the members; and immediately afterwards he quarrels with them again, ſeizes two of their number, and ſends them to diſtant priſons. But on finding that thoſe rigorous meaſures no way intimidated the people, who ſtill continued to reſiſt, he himſelf became intimidated, and ſuddenly quitted the helm. The Archbiſhop ſeems in point of courage to have been ſuch a Miniſter as Ancient Piſtol was a ſoldier—fierce and ſwaggering to a yielding foe; but ready to fly from a *Barbary hen, if her feathers turn back in any ſhew of reſiſtance.*

CHAP.

CHAPTER V

Exhibition in the Street—M. Necker—Political Pamphlets—Opinions reſpecting the Number of Deputies of the Tiers-Etat—Search for Precedents—Second Aſſembly of the Notables—French Parliaments—The Notables give their Opinion—The States General are conſtituted on a different Plan—The Miniſter's Motives for this.

THE hatred of the Pariſians to their late Miniſter, and their joy at his diſgrace, appeared by certain exhibitions in the ſtreets of Paris, which are characteriſtic of a French mob. Some of theſe ſcenes were of a ludicrous nature, and ſome faintly typify the wanton and atrocious tranſactions on the ſame theatre at ſubſequent periods.

A number of idle people, having dreſſed the ſtuffed figure of a man in the robes of an Archbiſhop, carried it through the ſtreets in proceſſion to the place of execution, where it was to be publicly burnt; and ſome of the mob perceiving an eccleſiaſtic among the ſpectators, laid hold of him, called him Abbé Vermon and Father Confeſſor to the Archbiſhop, and having obliged him to mimic the ceremony of confeſſing a condemned criminal, they threw the effigy of the Miniſter into the flames. When the populace were preparing to repeat this piece of mummery the next day, the military were ordered to interfere: the conſequence was, that ſeveral people were killed and more wounded.

Every incident that tended to irritate the minds of the people againſt the executive power was particularly unfortunate at this time, when the States General were about to be aſſembled.

A conſi-

A conſiderable number of men convened together, with powers delegated by the nation at large, for the expreſs purpoſe of reforming abuſes, naturally communicate courage and a ſpirit of enterpriſe to each other; and where many grievances are to be redreſſed, what was intended merely for the purpoſe of reformation is exceedingly likely to be the cauſe of a revolution.

The former Miniſters had foreſeen this, and therefore uſed every art to preclude, and afterwards to poſtpone, the convention of the States. The moſt effectual means would have been a timely reformation of the moſt oppreſſive abuſes; but this had been neglected. No meaſure was adopted for reforming any, until they were forced into this ſcheme for reforming all.

The ſcene which had been acted in the ſtreets of Paris, at the execution in effigy of the Archbiſhop, was imitated in the provinces, where various tumults occurred. Some

blood

blood was ſhed, and a general inſurrection was dreaded: but the replacing M. Necker in the office he had formerly held, put an end to thoſe apprehenſions, and gave an almoſt general ſatisfaction all over the nation.

M. Necker was a citizen of Geneva, bred a banker; and in that buſineſs at Paris he accumulated a very large fortune, ſuſtaining the character of a man of integrity. His fortune enabled him, and his inclination prompted him, to live in a ſtyle at once ſplendid and hoſpitable; his houſe was frequented by men of rank and by men of letters. His education, according to the cuſtom of his country, had been more of a literary nature than it is uſual in other countries to give to thoſe who are bred to what is called buſineſs; he cultivated his taſte for letters in the intervals of buſineſs ever after; he was thought to have juſt, extenſive, and philoſophical ideas on the ſubjects of commerce and finance; to be an able calculator,

and indefatigable in buſineſs; his greateſt enemies have not been able to injure his reputation for probity.

At a time when the finances of France were in great diſorder, it is not ſurprifing that a man of ſuch a character, and ſo connected, ſhould be thought of as a proper perſon to regulate them: yet it has been aſſerted, that he owed his appointment to the office of Director of the Finance to the recommendation of M. de Pezay, who had great influence with M. de Maurepas the Prime Miniſter, and whoſe recommendations are ſaid to have been ſometimes very expenſive to obtain.

This took place ſeveral years previous to the revolution. The public had the higheſt expectation from the meaſure; for M. Necker's talents had been praiſed with an exaggeration which the enthuſiaſm of the moment alone could have rendered credible.

If any attempted to inſinuate that the office

office was too high and confidential for a foreigner, a banker, and a heretic, thoſe very circumſtances were retorted as proofs of the wiſdom of placing him in it; for what elſe, it was ſaid, but the moſt ſuperlative abilities could have made a foreigner, a banker, and a heretic, be thought of as Miniſter of France?

Notwithſtanding his ſituation, however, M. Necker had no immediate communication with the King in the way of his office, it being part of the duty of M. Taboureau, the Controller General of Finance, to communicate on that buſineſs with his Majeſty: but the ſuperior knowledge of M. Necker, or perhaps the prevailing opinion that he poſſeſſed a ſuperior knowledge, was ſo mortifying to M. Taboureau, that he reſigned his office; which placed M. Necker in the ſituation he earneſtly deſired.

Soon after he had been appointed Director General, he ſuppreſſed the offices of Intendants

dants des Finances, which were occupied by members of the King's Council. The enemies of M. Necker have aſſerted, that his only reaſon for this reform was, that he did not find thoſe gentlemen ſufficiently convinced of his ſuperior talents; for there was nothing ſaved to the public by this reform, becauſe the value of the places was paid to each of thoſe gentlemen, and the intereſt of the money was nearly equal to the emoluments of the office.

M. Necker, thus gratified in the deſire of communicating directly with the King on the buſineſs of his office, ſtill found himſelf excluded from the Council of State. His religion prevented his taking the oath exacted of all before they could be admitted into that Council. He did not reliſh this excluſion, and imagined that his credit with the public, and the need which he conceived the Council had for the lights which he could throw on their deliberations, would

would prevail on his Majeſty to diſpenſe with the oath in his particular caſe. He therefore thought proper to addreſs the King by letter, repreſenting the inconveniencies which aroſe from his not being perſonally at the Council, and requeſting that he might be admitted in future.

M. Maurepas had been for ſome time diſpleaſed with M. Necker. He repreſented the requeſt as arrogant; and to M. Necker's aſtoniſhment and mortification, inſtead of being admitted into the Cabinet Council, he was diſmiſſed from the Adminiſtration.

However ſurpriſed he and his friends were at a diſgrace ſo unexpected, he did not loſe the hope of being ſoon re-inſtated in his office; and his friends and admirers, of which he had a great number, never ceaſed aſſerting that there was only one man in France capable of re-eſtabliſhing the finances and tranquillity of that country, and M. Necker was that man.

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The conduct of M. Necker's ſucceſſors did not prove that the firſt clauſe of this aſſertion was falſe; nor did his own conduct after he was re-inſtated in his office prove that the laſt clauſe was true. If the man in queſtion really exiſts, unfortunately for France he has not as yet been diſcovered.

A laboured work on the ſubject of French finance was the fruit of M. Necker's retreat, and the means which he thought moſt likely to bring about his recall; which however, although this work threw new light on the ſtate of the revenue, developed his own plan of economy, and was greatly reliſhed by the public, did not take place until the retreat of the Archbiſhop of Sens, as mentioned above, which was three years after the publication of M. Necker's work.

One of the firſt acts of M. Necker's adminiſtration was, recalling the exiled Magiſtrates, and re-eſtabliſhing the Parliaments

ments in the exercise of their functions. He was also determined upon the popular measure of assembling the States-General; but whether he was decided in his mind as to the mode of their being constituted or not, he seemed at least to have the appearance of deliberating on that point.

The public mind had been for some time kept in continual agitation with political discussions in general, and on this in particular. The presses all over France poured forth political pamphlets without number, in the greater part of which the abuses of Government and the faults of Administration were enumerated with exaggeration. These writings, like most political pamphlets, were highly praised, and represented as irresistibly convincing, by all who were of the writer's opinion, before they read them. The praises were so loud, and so often repeated, that many who never before thought on political subjects, and some who had

long renounced the practice of reading on any ſubject, were induced to peruſe them with avidity. Politics became the univerſal topic of converſation, and political pamphlets the faſhionable ſtudy; it extended to both ſexes and to every condition. Novels lay neglected, like ſermons, on the ſhelves of the bookſellers; and the manufacturer ſuſpended that labour which was to procure his dinner, that he might finiſh the Eſſai ſur les Privileges, and be able to anſwer this important queſtion, Qu'eſt-ce que le Tiers-Etat?

The effect of theſe lucubrations was, very often to make people complain of oppreſſions which they had never before felt, and view thoſe with hatred whom they had before regarded with love and reſpect.

In ſome of the publications it was propoſed, that the repreſentatives of the Tiers Etat, at the aſſembly of the States, ſhould conſiſt of a number equal to the Nobleſſe and the Clergy.

Some

Some people thought this of little importance; becauſe they believed that the Aſſembly would vote by orders, and not by individual voices; in which caſe the Tiers, whatever their number was, would have but one vote.

Others on the contrary thought it of conſiderable importance, even although it ſhould be decided that the three claſſes, of which the States-General were to conſiſt, ſhould vote by orders; becauſe, in a variety of caſes which might occur independent of voting, the influence of ſix hundred deputies might carry points in the Aſſembly, when that of three hundred would have failed.

But it was not very difficult to foreſee, that, if it were once determined that the Tiers-Etat ſhould conſiſt of twice as many deputies as either of the other two orders, that determination would in all probability prove alſo deciſive of the other queſtion, of the manner in which the States ſhould

vote:

vote: for, on the ſuppoſition that all the three orders conſiſted of the ſame number of deputies, the Nobleſſe and the Clergy joining, which it was natural to think they would do, would be able to carry every queſtion againſt the Tiers; whereas, if the latter conſiſted of double the number, they, with a ſmall addition from the other two orders, which they were certain of having, would carry every queſtion againſt them: and it could not be doubted, that they would begin by ſecuring the great and important point, that the Aſſembly ſhould *not* vote by orders, but by individual votes. It was a matter, therefore, of the utmoſt importance, what number of deputies the third order ſhould be directed to ſend to the Aſſembly of the States.

M. Necker, finding the public impatience for the aſſembling the States-General to increaſe every day, appointed certain perſons to ſearch hiſtorical regiſters, and make a report

port reſpecting the plans and forms that had been obſerved in conſtituting the Aſſembly of the States on former occaſions.

A report was made accordingly; but it was not deemed of ſufficient authority by M. Necker for any meaſure to be founded on it. Some have aſſerted, that the true reaſon of this report not being publiſhed or acted on was, that no inſtance was diſcovered of the Tiers having deputed a double number to the Aſſembly of the States-General. M. Necker, therefore, prevailed on the King to convene the Notables, and take their opinion on this very delicate ſubject. They were ſummoned, and they aſſembled accordingly; but before the Notables had given any formal opinion on the ſubject, the Parliament of Paris, which had been ſo lately reſtored to the exerciſe of its functions, took a ſtep which ſurpriſed many, was directly in oppoſition to the conduct which had occaſioned the baniſhment of the members,

and which ruined them for ever with the popular party. They paſſed a decree, ordaining that the States ſhould be conſtituted in the ſame manner they had been in the year 1614, when the Tiers-Etat had about the ſame number of repreſentatives with each of the other two orders.

The various Parliaments of France, particularly that of Paris, had on certain occaſions, when Government was weak, refuſed to enregiſter the King's edicts, and thereby conveyed an idea that their ſanction was neceſſary to give them force. This was uſurping a ſhare in the legiſlation which it was never intended they ſhould poſſeſs; but in which they had been ſupported by the people, becauſe the remonſtrances of the Parliaments againſt oppreſſive taxes and other oppreſſions had occaſionally proved a check on the arbitrary power of Government.

Theſe lawyers, therefore, who bought

their offices in the Parliament, had wrought themſelves into an importance which it was not originally intended they ſhould have; and although they formed a peculiar ſpecies of ariſtôcracy between the Commons and the Nobleſſe, they were all that the people of France had for their repreſentatives, and their only defence againſt the injuſtice and rapacity of Miniſters.

The Parliament of Paris, on the preſent occaſion, may have been afraid of the conſequence of the Tiers having a double number of repreſentatives, as a meaſure which might diminiſh their own power; but it is probable that they were prompted to this meaſure by the influence of the Notables, with a view of rendering their own deciſion more palatable to the public. Without this ſuppoſition, it ſeems highly improbable that the Parliament would have ventured to decide a point of this nature, while it was actually under reference to the Notables.

If,

If, however, their deciſion had been in favour of the double number claimed by the Tiers, there is no queſtion but that their conduct would have been praiſed by the public as highly becoming, inſtead of being decried as impertinent and officious.

In the mean time the Notables continued their deliberations. They were divided into different bureaus or committees, as on the former occaſion. The committee of which *Monſieur* was Preſident decided, by the majority of a ſingle vote, that the third order ſhould delegate double the number of members. All the other Committees, and there were ten or a dozen, decided that the Third Order ſhould only have an equal number*.

After the Notables had pronounced their

* During this ſecond Aſſembly of Notables, the Duke of Orleans ſeldom appeared at Verſailles, and never preſided at the Committee of which he was Preſident.

opinions

opinions in ſo deciſive a manner in favour of the Nobleſſe and Clergy, it was to be expected that the Miniſter would direct the States to be conſtituted and to aſſemble according to the rule which the court, to which he himſelf had referred the matter, had recommended; for nobody could have imagined that the principal perſons of the nation would have been formally aſſembled, and their advice aſked on purpoſe to reject it.

Their advice *was* rejected however: the King's proclamation, by which the States-General were ordered to be conſtituted and aſſembled, appointed that the number of the deputies from the Tiers-Etat ſhould be *equal to that of the two others united.*

People were much at a loſs to account for M. Necker's motive for a conduct apparently ſo inconſiſtent.

Some aſſert that, when M. Necker ſummoned the Notables, he really wiſhed the buſineſs

buſineſs arranged in the manner he was convinced *they* would determine, by recommending only an equal number of deputies to the Tiers; but that after they had given their opinion, he was aſſured that, if that method was adopted, it would ruin his popularity for ever. On this he made his famous report to the Council, on which the proclamation above mentioned was founded.

Others have ſuſpected, that his referring the queſtion to the Notables, publiſhing their opinion, and then deciding in oppoſition to it according to the wiſhes of the people, was a contrivance to raiſe his popularity to the greateſt poſſible height, by demonſtrating that the opinion of the greateſt men in the country was of little weight with him in compariſon with the deſire of the people.

But this is aſſigning a degree of diſſimulation and duplicity to M. Necker, which at

no time belonged to his character. It muſt have occurred to him, however, that he had little chance of ever acquiring great influence with the Nobleſſe, the majority of whom deſpiſed him on account of his birth, more than they admired him for his talents or integrity. He had as little chance of becoming a favourite with the Clergy, who hated him on account of his particular religion, more than they eſteemed him for his general piety: but by augmenting the power of the Tiers Etat, and thus attaching them to him, he might expect to enſure his own, and be enabled to do all the good he intended, and acquire all the renown which his ambition deſired.

The Notables gave their deciſion in the month of December 1788. M. Necker towards the end of the ſame month laid his report before the Council, concerning the ſame ſubject on which the Notables had previouſly given their opinion. In this

report three queſtions are ſtated for the conſideration of the Council: the firſt regards the manner in which the Deputies were to be elected; the ſecond, the number of which thoſe of the third order ſhould conſiſt; and the third queſtion was, whether each order ſhould be obliged to chooſe the Deputies from their own claſs, or might elect them from all the three. M. Necker's report was a laboured reaſoning on theſe three queſtions, all of which he decided differently from the Notables: the ſecond queſtion is by much the moſt important; and the chief object of M. Necker is to prove the expediency of the *Tiers* having double the number of Deputies.

This report, having been approved by the Council, was publiſhed at the beginning of 1789. All Europe were certainly ſurpriſed, that a meaſure, which many foreſaw would operate ſo powerfully againſt the Crown, ſhould have been recommended by the

the King's Miniſter, and approved of by his Council: yet M. Necker ſaid, that in this he only followed what he called *le bruit ſourd de l'Europe.*

He alſo declares, what nobody will think improbable, that it was the general deſire of the Tiers-Etat themſelves; and their deſire, he adds, muſt be conſidered as the deſire of the nation. This ſeems rather hard on the Nobleſſe and Clergy, who had been accuſtomed to conſider themſelves as a very conſiderable part of the nation. They were now informed that their importance was nearly gone, and that the beſt way of retaining a little would be to amalgamate themſelves with the general maſs of the People. Some of them took the hint very ſoon afterwards.

Another of M. Necker's reaſons, as little flattering for the Nobleſſe and Clergy as the former, was, that by calling a great number of Deputies from the Tiers, a greater quantity and variety of knowledge uſeful to Go-

vernment would be concentred, than by the ſame number of Deputies from either of the other two orders: but as if he had been afraid that it might be ſuſpected that he meant to inſinuate, that the third order of the State had the ſuperiority in every kind of knowledge, that they even excelled the Nobleſſe in polite accompliſhments and the Biſhops in divinity, he qualifies the aſſertion by particularizing commerce, manufactures, agriculture, with the knowledge of finance, and of the propereſt meaſures for ſupporting public credit, as the branches in which the Tiers excelled.

He next admoniſhes the third order to uſe the power which is to be devolved to them with prudence and moderation, and by no means ever to think of making uſe of it to force the Aſſembly to decide queſtions by individual votes, but always by their different orders.

M. Necker muſt have ideas very diffe-

rent from what are generally received regarding the efficacy of advice, and the manner in which newly-acquired power is uſually exerciſed, if he really expected that the third order would act with all the moderation he ſo wiſely adviſed. What rendered this the leſs to be expected was, that this order conſidered themſelves as having been for a long period of time very ſcurvily uſed by the two others, and might therefore have been ſuſpected of being diſpoſed to indulge in retaliation; eſpecially as the Chriſtian religion, and the divine precept of doing good for evil, ſeemed to make leſs impreſſion than ever on the minds of the French nation at this period.

M. Necker proceeds to aſſure the King, that he will on the whole be a gainer by the diminution of his own power and the augmentation of that of the people. In the language of philoſophy he tells the Monarch, "La ſatisfaction attachée à un pouvoir

ſans limite eſt toute d'imagination.—Votre Majeſté, en s'entourant *des Députés de la* Nation, ſe délivre d'une ſuite cruelle d'incertitudes et de balancemens, de deſiances et de regrets, qui doivent faire le malheur d'un Prince, tant qu'il demeure ſenſible au bien de l'état et à l'amour de ſes peuples*."

This argument to perſuade a King to abridge his power, becauſe of the ſolicitudes which attend it, however ingenious and juſt it may be, is not more ſucceſsful than the common one againſt riches. Men have been long told, that money is the root of all evil, and that heaping up riches is heaping up care. Nobody diſputes the truth of the maxims; but nobody gives away

* The pleaſure of unlimited power is imaginary. By ſurrounding your perſon with the national Deputies, you will be freed from much anxiety and ſolicitude, and many of thoſe ſources of regret which create the unhappineſs of every Prince endowed with ſenſibility for the good of the ſtate and the love of his ſubjects.

money,

money on purpoſe to be relieved from care: on the contrary, we ſee men of immenſe wealth, whoſe only pangs and vexations in life ariſe from money; yet, like the man who put a ſerpent in his boſom, they hug it, although it ſtings them, and the more it ſtings them, they hug it the more.

The argument is ſeldom uſed, therefore, in the hope of prevailing on people to reſign their riches voluntarily; it is only applied to thoſe who by ſome accident have loſt part of their fortune, to conſole them for what cannot be helped; and in this ſenſe M. Necker's reaſoning muſt be underſtood—not as intended to perſuade the King to give up power which he could keep, but to comfort him under the loſs of what he could not retain.

M. Necker concludes with a ſuppoſition of the poſſibility that the Tiers might not act with all the moderation that was to be wiſhed; in which caſe he mentions, as his

laſt advice, a meaſure from which it is difficult to imagine that any great comfort could flow: "Cependant," continues he, "ſi une difference dans le nombre de Députés du Tiers-Etat devenoit un ſujet ou un pretexte de diſcorde; ſi, par des vues particulieres, on cherchoit à laſſer l'honorable conſtance de V. M.; ſi votre volonté, Sire, n'étoit pas ſuffiſante pour lever ces obſtacles; alors quel conſeil pourrai-je donner à V. M.? Un ſeul, et ce ſeroit le dernier, celui de ſacrifier le Miniſtre qui auroit eu le plus de part à votre deliberation*."

As this laſt meaſure could remedy none

* Nevertheleſs, if a difference in the number of Deputies of the Tiers-Etat becomes a ſubject or a pretence of diſcord; if, from private views, they tried to tire your Majeſty's conſtancy; if your will, Sire, ſhould not be ſufficient to remove theſe obſtacles; what advice can I then give to your Majeſty? Only one, and it ſhall be the laſt—namely, to ſacrifice the Miniſter who has had the principal ſhare in adviſing you to this meaſure.

of the miſchiefs ſuppoſed to be done by the advice which the Miniſter had prevailed on the King to follow; and as it will appear of ſmall importance in the eyes of moſt people, it is a little ſurpriſing that M. Necker mentions it with ſo much emphaſis.

Senſible that his influence in the cabinet depended on his popularity, and believing that his popularity would be ruined, if the favourite point of a double repreſentation of the Tiers was not carried, he perſuaded the King into that meaſure; yet it is not difficult to perceive his fears, leſt a bad uſe ſhould be made of it, breaking through his reaſoning in its favour.

His ambition lulled his fears, and tempted him to riſk all the evils which threatened, but which his vanity made him believe he had ability to overcome. Had he foreſeen with certainty half the miſchiefs that were the conſequence of that meaſure,

meaſure, no conſideration could have prevailed on M. Necker to adviſe it: for he unqueſtionably had the proſperity of the French nation ſincerely at heart, as his greateſt ambition was to be the inſtrument of it. Although born a republican, he was of opinion that a republican form of government neither ſuited the extent of the French empire, nor the character of the French people. He was the friend of Liberty; but thought ſhe could be ſure of a permanent and happy reſidence in France under a limited monarchical form of government only: yet his conduct immediately before the aſſembling of the States-General, and for ſome time afterwards, has been thought to have greatly contributed to the deſtruction of monarchy in France, and to the eſtabliſhment of a republic which hitherto ſeems of a more terrible nature than any government that ever was known, in as much as it ſeems to

combine

combine all the tyranny of which republicans accuſe monarchy, with all the anarchy of which the friends of monarchy accuſe republics.

CHAP.

CHAPTER VI.

The Nobility of Great Britain and Ireland.
The Nobleſſe of France.

THE Deputies to the States-General being elected were, in the terms of the King's proclamation, to aſſemble at Verſailles, and the Aſſembly was to be opened on the fifth of May 1789.

The public at large expected the redreſs of many grievances, and the reformation of many abuſes, from this Aſſembly; but as the Nobleſſe and Clergy enjoyed many privileges and immunities at the expence of the Tiers-Etat, it may eaſily be imagined that a number of thoſe would appear abuſes in the eyes of the latter, which were regarded as wiſe inſtitutions by the former.

The privileges poſſeſſed, and the ſuperiority

riority aſſumed, by the Nobleſſe of France over the inferior orders, were evils of greater magnitude than they may ſeem to thoſe Engliſhmen who judge by the impreſſion which the privileges and conduct of the Nobility of their own country make on the minds of their countrymen.

The precedency and diſtinctions which the Nobility enjoy in common ſociety in England are never refuſed, unleſs when arrogated; and therefore are ſeldom or never aſſumed, but always granted.

When the Peerage is poſſeſſed by perſons of truly great and amiable characters, which ſometimes happens, all the world are pleaſed to ſee honours ſo well beſtowed. When the reverſe is the caſe, thoſe who afford the example generally have the privileges and diſtinctions of the Peerage ſo cruelly counterbalanced by other moral and phyſical circumſtances, that on the whole they are far from being the objects of envy.

It has been aſſerted, that thoſe Britiſh Peers who form examples of the firſt alternative were not born to the Peerage, but obtained it on account of their diſtinguiſhed merit, and therefore form no exception to the pernicious effect of hereditary honours. But there is more ſatire than truth in this obſervation; for, after all that can be alleged of the torpor which the certainty of enjoying honourable diſtinction independent of perſonal merit may throw on the mind, there are inſtances of men born to the higheſt titles and greateſt fortune, who nevertheleſs have added luſtre to their country and to human nature by the moſt powerful virtuous exertions.

The privileges of the Britiſh Nobility, when compared with thoſe of the Nobleſſe of France before the Revolution, will in general be found at once more valuable and leſs invidious: they are aſcertained by the known laws of the land, fully underſtood, and,

and, for the moſt part, cheerfully acquieſced in.

The moſt important of thoſe privileges conſiſts in the hereditary ſhare they have in the legiſlature; not in their forming a part of the pageantry of a Court, or in having their lands exempt from taxation.

The Peers of Great Britain are few in number. The Peerage being confined to the perſon who has the patent, and not paſſing to more than one of his deſcendants; the brothers and ſons of a Peer, whether Baron, Earl, or Duke, are Commoners. This naturally forms a ſtrong connection between the Peers and Commons, which is conſtantly cemented by intermarriages, by friendſhip, by the reciprocal power of being of ſervice to each other, and of courſe by mutual attentions and good offices.

So great a portion of the Commons of Great Britain being connected by theſe various bonds with the Peerage; ſhould ever

the privileges of the latter be attacked, a ſtrong phalanx of the former would immediately appear in their defence.

The ſituation of the French Nobleſſe, with reſpect to the Commons, or, as they call them, Roturiers, was very different. The privileges of the former were in many inſtances vague, unaſcertained by poſitive law, and depending merely on ancient uſage.

The importance of a Britiſh Peer, and the conſideration in which he is held at Court, particularly by the Miniſter, depend in a great meaſure on his influence and popularity in the country. The importance of a French Nobleman depended entirely on Court favour, and dwindled into nothing at the frown of his Sovereign.

A Britiſh Peer, therefore, has a ſtrong motive to cultivate the good will of all the inhabitants around his eſtate; whereas a French Marquis or Duke had no motive

but

but the ſentiments of benevolence and humanity, to behave with attention and kindneſs to the peaſantry. Motives of that nature were no doubt ſufficient with many; but the inferior orders of mankind always were, and always will be, treated with more regard by their ſuperiors, when they have ſomething in their power to beſtow in return, than when that is not the caſe.

The Nobleſſe of France were not legiſlators, nor did they form a court of law in the laſt reſort, as the Peers of Great Britain; but they had the right of appointing judges for the deciſion of both criminal and civil cauſes on their own domains, as well as other invidious privileges which have been long aboliſhed in England. It is believed by many people in this country, that the lands of the Nobleſſe were entirely free from taxes. This is a miſtake; they are ſubject to the vingtieme, which, as there are three, is equivalent to a dixieme and a half; the

Nobleſſe were alſo ſubject to the capitation; but as they certainly were free from the taille, and had many advantages in other reſpects as well as in the article of taxation, this tended to render them unpopular and odious to their fellow-ſubjects who did not enjoy the ſame privileges.

Letters of Nobleſſe were not very difficult to be obtained in France; and when obtained, the ſame dignity and all the privileges were tranſmitted to all the deſcendants of the perſon ennobled.

They were by no means, it is true, conſidered as on a footing with the ancient Nobility; but they immediately entered into the poſſeſſion of every odious privilege, which they were apt to exerciſe in the moſt odious manner. The conſciouſneſs of belonging to an ancient and honourable family, and the reſpect that is ſpontaneouſly accorded to thoſe who enjoy that advantage, preclude all jealouſy or ſolicitude on

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the ſubject, and in general render their behaviour natural and polite: but new and unaccuſtomed dignities often inſpire weak minds with a diſpoſition to diſplay ſupercilious airs and a ridiculous deportment towards thoſe whom they then conſider as their inferiors, and from whom they are jealous of a want of reſpect, becauſe of their late equality.

Something of this kind is obſervable even in England, particularly in the wives of new-created Baronets, and the families of new-created Peers; but in England airs of this kind are received with ſuch contempt, and ſometimes repelled with ſuch ſeverity, that they are ſeldom aſſumed.

But the exuberant plantation of Nobleſſe in France was ſo extenſive, and the branches ſometimes ſo extravagant and cumberſome, that it tended to check and depreſs the natural and moſt uſeful vegetation of the ſoil: for in that country the airs of ſuperiority,

riority, which the moſt petulant part of the Nobility were apt to aſſume, were more difficult to repreſs, and were apparent in every place. Even at the table of the citizen, the deportment of Monſieur le Comte or Marquis often reminded the entertainer of the honour done him by their condeſcending to accept of his entertainment. The ſmile of protection, the proud politeneſs, the geſture, the tone, and a thouſand circumſtances, marked the vaſt diſtance that was conceived to be between them, and told him as diſtinctly as any language, that, although he had dug a fortune from the dirty mines of commerce, he muſt ſtill preſerve a ſlaviſh ſubmiſſion in the company of gentlemen. The loweſt of the Nobleſſe diſclaimed all connection with the higheſt roturier; no cordial bond of union, no reciprocation of good offices, no friendſhip, could ſubſiſt between the two ranks. They were two diſtinct planets, one of which diſdained to

be

be connected with, or influenced by, the motions of the other; the interval between them being filled with an atmoſphere of repulſive particles which kept the two ſpheres aſunder, and prevented their moving harmonioufly in the ſame ſyſtem.

The comparative moderation and unaſſuming behaviour obſervable in the Britiſh Nobility towards their fellow citizens, is not to be imputed ſo much to any original difference in their diſpoſition from that of thoſe of the ſame caſt in France or other countries, as to the government and cuſtoms of England, which do not tolerate that degree of inſolence that was formerly diſplayed with impunity in France, and ſtill continues in other countries in Europe: for although we ſee men in this country of high rank, who take as warm an intereſt in the general rights of their countrymen, and in the maintenance of the Britiſh Conſtitution, as in any private rights of their own—men

who have ſuch a horror at oppreſſion that no degree of power could render them tyrannical—yet we are not certain that even theſe men would have poſſeſſed this degree of equity, if they had not been educated under impartial laws.

The uſual effect of a tyrannical and partial Government is to render the powerful unfeeling, and the weak abject. " Les " eſclaves," ſays Rouſſeau, " perdent tout " dans leur ſervitude, juſqu'au deſir d'en " ſortir; comme les compagnons d'Uliſſe " aimoient leur abrutiſſement*."

That this natural effect did not continue to operate in France, was owing to the numerous writings which have appeared in the language of that country, and particularly thoſe of Rouſſeau himſelf. Thoſe

* Slaves, ſays Rouſſeau, are ſo debaſed by their ſituation, that they loſe all ſentiment, even the deſire of being emancipated; like the companions of Ulyſſes, who loved the brutal ſtate into which they were ſunk.

writings,

writings, in which the debaſing influence of deſpotiſm and the happy effects of liberty were exhibited in the moſt glowing language, with other incidental cauſes, continuing to act on the heated and elaſtic minds of Frenchmen, at laſt overcame all compreſſion, and produced an exploſion of wide and lamentable devaſtation.

To arreſt the ruinous effects of this, and prevent other events of the ſame nature, requires more wiſdom and delicacy than any thing which ever engaged the attention of thoſe who are entruſted with the government of the different nations of Europe.

The embers of this eruption, which have been thrown, for example, on a ſoil fortunately ſo ill adapted to their reception as that of England, would, it is probable, cool of themſelves without any other miſchief than the deteſted odour of their exhalation; whereas, if, from an imprudent zeal to diſperſe them, they ſhould be ſtirred with

violence, they may communicate their fire, and ſpread new flames.

To return to our ſubject.—It may reaſonably be believed, that the numbers of the Nobleſſe of France might have been reſtricted, and ſome of their privileges removed, with more ſecurity to the Conſtitution which was afterwards eſtabliſhed, than was produced by aboliſhing the order altogether. But it is evident, that there was ſo great a difference between the ſituation of the Peerage of Great Britain and that of the Nobleſſe of France, that the ſame perſon who is of opinion that the abolition of the privileges of the latter was neceſſary for the freedom and happineſs of France, may alſo be convinced, that the maintenance of thoſe of the former is a ſecurity for the freedom and happineſs of Great Britain.

CHAPTER VII.

The Aſſembly of the States-General—Jealouſies—Diſputes reſpecting the Veriſi ation of the Powers of the Deputies—The King attempts to conciliate the Three Orders—The Tiers-Etat poſtpone his Compromiſe—Artful Propoſal of the Clergy—Eluded by the Commons—The Solicitude of the King—The Tiers-Etat proceed to the Verification of the Returns without the other two Orders, and aſſume the Legiſlative Government—Diſpute concerning the Name the Aſſembly ſhould aſſume—Obſervations and Diſcourſes of Mirabeau.

A LITTLE before the meeting of the States-General, and during the heat and commotion which elections and party animoſity always produce in a populous city, a cataſtrophe of a melancholy nature

took place, the ſource of which has never been clearly aſcertained.

A man of an excellent character, of the name of Reveillon, carried on an immenſe paper manufactory in the ſuburb of St. Antoine, by which he employed a great number of the poor in that quarter. A report was ſpread that he intended to diminiſh the wages of the workmen; and what rendered this more alarming to theſe poor people and their families, there was a ſcarcity of bread at the time in which this rumour aroſe. The bare falſehood was ſoon accompanied with many additional and aggravating circumſtances, and particularly certain expreſſions of an inſulting nature to the diſtreſſes of the poor were repeated as having been uſed by M. Reveillon.

Although nothing could be more oppoſite to the general conduct and character of the man, theſe rumours were readily believed by the unthinking multitude.

They

They dragged the figure of a man with a label around the neck, inſcribed with the name of Reveillon and with the offenſive words he was ſaid to have uttered, to the Place de Greve, and there performed the ceremony of an execution. Having paſſed the night in drinking and riot, they went the following day and burſt into M. Reveillon's houſe, deſtroyed his furniture, burnt his books and papers, broke into his cellars, increaſing their fury by renewed intoxication.

There had been a relaxation in the police of Paris unknown before that period, during the whole time occupied in the elections. The Lieutenant of Police, from timidity or negligence, had taken no meaſure for cruſhing this inſurrection at the beginning. A party of ſoldiers, too weak for the purpoſe, were ſent when it was too late, to protect the houſe of M. Reveillon; they were repulſed by the pillagers. A large body of the French and Swiſs guards then marched againſt

againſt them with two pieces of artillery. After having in vain ſummoned the mob around the houſe to retire, the commanding officer ordered the ſoldiers to fire over the heads of the multitude, in the hope that it would have intimidated and diſperſed them. It had a contrary effect: the multitude pelted the guards with ſtones from the ſtreets, the windows and the top of the houſe. By a ſecond fire the enraged ſoldiers killed a conſiderable number of the rabble; and then, ruſhing into the houſe, put all to the ſword whom they found in the rooms or in the cellars. The ſcene was horrible; above one hundred of the populace are ſaid to have been ſlaughtered; a conſiderable number of the military were wounded, and a few killed.

It has been repeatedly aſſerted by one party, that the ſource of this melancholy affair was a manœuvre of the Court, to furniſh a pretext for ordering ſo large a

body

body of troops near the capital and Verſailles as would overawe the populace, and render the Aſſembly of the States more complaiſant to the views of the Court than they were ſuppoſed to be.

On the other hand the partiſans of the Court have aſſerted, that the inſurrection was excited, at a great expence of money, by certain leaders of the popular party, on purpoſe to ſhew the people their own ſtrength and the weakneſs of Government, and to intimidate the King into acquieſcence with their meaſures.

As neither party have been able to eſtabliſh their aſſertions on any thing like proof, the probability is, that both are unfounded; and that the commotion which was attended with ſuch fatal conſequences originated either in private malice againſt M. Reveillon, or ſimply in a falſe report haſtily believed by a profligate populace, whoſe

natural

natural credulity was ſharpened by the ſcarcity of bread and the hope of pillage.

When a nation is divided in opinion on ſubjects which heat the underſtanding and inflame the paſſions, there is hardly any wickedneſs of which one party is not capable of accuſing the other; and by theſe reciprocal accuſations of crimes, which perhaps neither was capable of committing, they become familiarized with ideas which they never before entertained, and are gradually prepared for deeds which they would otherwiſe have ſhrunk from with horror.

On the day of the aſſembling of the States-General, the Deputies attended the King to the church of St. Lewis at Verſailles, where they heard a ſermon preached by the Biſhop of Nancy. The driſt of this diſcourſe was to prove, that all wiſe legiſlators had cheriſhed religion, as the pureſt ſource of happineſs to nations, or, as he ex-

preſſed it, la ſource unique et intariſſable de leur proſperité. The ſermon was abundantly interſperſed with praiſes of the King; and the Queen was apoſtrophized in the following terms: " Fille des Céſars, emule et confidante des bienfaits de ton auguſte epoux*!" There is certainly nothing extraordinary in a Biſhop's praiſing religion in a church, or a King and Queen in a ſermon preached before themſelves; but it is a ſubject of melancholy reflection to think how all the three have been treated ſince by ſome of thoſe who heard their praiſes with applauſe at that time; and it is impoſſible not to imagine, that if the French nation had not been deprived of all regard for the firſt, they never would have behaved in the barbarous manner they did to the two laſt. It is likewiſe worthy

* Daughter of the Cæſars! You who emulate and are the confidante of the benevolent actions of your auguſt huſband!

of

of notice, that the ſtate in which the inhabitants of France have been ſince they loſt religious impreſſions, is no refutation of the Biſhop's doctrine.

From the church the King went to the hall appointed for the States. He was ſeated on a throne erected for the purpoſe, the Queen placing herſelf at his ſide on a ſeat not ſo high as that of the King; the Royal Family were ſeated around; the Clergy on one ſide of the hall, and the Nobleſſe on the other; the Tiers-Etat at the bottom.

Such an aſſembly, the repreſentatives of a great nation, and, above all, the purpoſe for which they were convened, to reform long-continued and ſeverely felt abuſes, and to make regulations on which the happineſs of millions of human beings in a great meaſure depended, muſt have produced warm emotion, and raiſed the higheſt expectation.

The King pronounced a diſcourſe adapted

to

to the occaſion, which was followed by one from the keeper of the ſeals; and the meeting concluded with a very long one from M. Necker, which however was more attended to than either of the other two.

Conſidering the different views, intereſts, and prejudices of the auditory, M. Necker muſt have poſſeſſed more addreſs than falls to the lot of humanity, to have compoſed a diſcourſe which would have entirely pleaſed an audience whoſe views and wiſhes were ſo different, and the minds of many of them ſo ill diſpoſed towards the ſpeaker. The Nobles looked on him as a low-born upſtart, who by intrigue and talents fit for a counting-houſe had wriggled himſelf into a ſituation to which he had no right: the Clergy were jealous of him as a Proteſtant: and as M. Necker's diſcourſe did not point directly to the object aimed at by the Deputies of the Tiers-Etat, whoſe views were the moſt exalted, they alſo were diſpleaſed

with it; and they would have been ſtill more ſo, if they had not perceived that it diſpleaſed the Nobleſſe and the Clergy.

There exiſted a great jealouſy in the three orders which compoſed the Aſſembly; two of them dreading to be ſtripped of privileges they had long enjoyed, and the third being filled with indignation at the degradation and oppreſſion under which they had long ſuffered: to this original jealouſy, which already burned with too great heat in the breaſts of ſome of the Deputies, certain circumſtances of a frivolous nature ſerved as additional fuel. In the ceremonial of preſenting the Deputies to the King, a diſtinction, which it would have been wiſer to have omitted, was made between the two firſt orders and the third. In admitting the Clergy and Nobleſſe, both foldings of the door were thrown open, and they were received by the King in his cabinet: but in admitting the Deputies of the Tiers-Etat

the

the opening of one half of the door was thought ſufficient; and they were received by his Majeſty in a kind of anti-chamber. This circumſtance of the door might have been thought equally unpolite, but it would not have been quite ſo imprudent, if the Tiers-Etat had not previouſly obtained a double repreſentation.

Such diſtinctions may be proper for keeping up the idea of ſuperiority, when neither the ſuperiority itſelf nor the power of ſupporting it is to be called in queſtion; but when the firſt is diſputed, and the ſecond declining, they had beſt not be brought forward. The very circumſtance of the States-General being ſummoned was of itſelf a proof that the Tiers-Etat were not to be treated with the appearance of indignity. Inſolence, when ſupported by power, is mean; without that ſupport it is ridiculous. Inſtead of permitting any appearance of that kind, the Court would have done well to

have conſidered the ſtate of the public mind at the time: that thoſe to whom the marks of diſregard were ſhewn, formed, by the conceſſion of the King himſelf, one half of the Aſſembly, and were the repreſentatives of the majority of the nation—a nation diſtinguiſhed for ſpirit and ingenuity, among whom ſcience and the arts had been cultivated with nearly *as much* ſucceſs even in the opinion of their greateſt rival, with *more* in the opinion of the reſt of Europe, and with *a great deal more* in their own opinion, than in any other country in the world: that thoſe men came fraught with the idea, that they had been oppreſſed by the Court, inſulted by the Nobles, impoſed on by the Clergy, and were inſtructed by their conſtituents to require redreſs.—Had theſe conſiderations been duly attended to, every invidious and unneceſſary diſtinction, and every circumſtance which could be conceived to add irritation to minds already

already highly irritated, and too ready perhaps to conſtrue things indifferent in themſelves into cauſe of provocation, would have been avoided.

The dreſs of ceremony preſcribed for the different orders afforded matter of offence alſo: that of the Nobleſſe and higher Clergy was of itſelf pompous, which ſome of them ſpared no expence in rendering ſtill more magnificent by additional ornaments; that of the Tiers-Etat conſiſted ſimply of the little black cloak worn by lawyers, which, when attached to the ſhoulders of thoſe who did not wear black, had a prepoſterous and mean appearance. But when it was obſerved that this was a ſubject of ridicule to ſome of the Nobleſſe, the People, however diſpoſed they may be in general to laugh at pitiful jokes, obſtinately refuſed to give any encouragement to this, and ſhewed the higheſt reſpect for the motley-clothed Deputies, cheering them with repeated ſhouts of

Vive le Tiers-Etat! while they allowed their ſplendid rivals to paſs in proceſſion unnoticed. So that in a ſhort time a little black cloak on a brown thread-bare coat became reſpectable; and afterwards, when the cloaks were laid aſide, on the converſion of the States-General into a National Aſſembly, a great plainneſs or rather ſhabbineſs of dreſs was, upon the ſame principle, conſidered as a preſumption of patriotiſm.

This might have ſerved as a warning to Adminiſtration and the Clergy, to be exceedingly cautious how they proceeded; for after the nation had proved, by this inſtance, that they were capable of a ſudden and complete change of opinion on a ſubject which had always occupied them ſo much as that of dreſs, it was to be expected that they might alter their way of thinking, with ſtill greater eaſe, on matters which hitherto had appeared to be of far leſs importance to them—namely, Government and Religion.

Before

Before the Aſſembly could proceed to the buſineſs for which it was convoked, the veri-fication of the powers of the Deputies was neceſſary, and for this purpoſe their writs of return were to be examined. The Nobi-lity and Clergy propoſed, that this ſhould be done by each of the orders ſeparately, in a chamber appropriated for itſelf: but the Third Eſtate were of a different way of thinking; for although they had gained the point of a double repreſentation, they knew that the Court partly expected that it would be rendered of little importance, by the re-ſolution the Nobles and Clergy had formed not to vote by poll, but by orders, each in-veſted with the privilege of putting a nega-tive on the deciſion of the other two. M. Necker himſelf had, in his diſcourſe at the opening of the Aſſembly, talked in ſuch equivocal terms on this head, that each party might have imagined he favoured their wiſhes. Yet that they ſhould guard

againſt voting by orders, and ſecure the point of voting by poll, formed a principal article in the inſtructions of many Deputies for the Third Eſtate; and they were aware, that if a precedent were once eſtabliſhed of doing buſineſs of any kind ſeparately, that ſingle inſtance might prove deciſive of the queſtion. When they aſſembled in the common hall, therefore, they reſolved that the three orders ſhould verify their powers together; and finding that the Nobles and Clergy did not join them, they ſeparated without proceeding to the verification of their own powers: and when they met afterwards, they declared it was only as individuals, without any political character or right to act; and that they waited for the two other orders in the common hall, that the verification of their powers might be made in the only valid way, when all were preſent.

In this ſtate things continued for ſeveral weeks;

weeks; the Nobleſſe and Clergy meeting in their reſpective halls, and the Deputies of the Third Eſtate aſſembling daily in the common hall, but abſtaining from verifying their powers on account of the abſence of the other orders.

The Commons, having the voice and affections of the vaſt majority of the nation with them, and being convinced that this circumſtance muſt render them victorious, made a ſhew of great temper and moderation. They ſent repeated meſſages to the Nobles, in the moſt reſpectful terms inviting them to the hall, that the great intereſts of the nation might not be retarded. Receiving no ſatisfactory anſwer from them, the Commons ſent a deputation to the Clergy, inviting them to the common hall, that they might mutually deliberate on the moſt effectual means of reſtoring tranquillity and happineſs to the nation. On this occaſion the Commons conjured the Clergy to

agree

agree to their requeſt *in the name of the God of Peace.* This form of entreaty was adopted as peculiarly applicable to thoſe who called themſelves the ſervants of the God of Peace, and in the belief that it could not be rejected without their being thought diſreſpectful to their maſter, and of courſe without being of prejudice to them in the minds of the People.

The Clergy, who were ſenſible of the value of popularity in the preſent exigency, and who conſidered the pathetic terms of the exhortation as turning their own artillery againſt them, determined to retaliate, by puſhing the Commons into a troubleſome dilemma, and perhaps ſtealing from them ſome of their popularity. For this purpoſe they ſent a deputation to the Third Eſtate, lamenting the miſerable condition of the people, ariſing from the high price of bread, and propoſing that a committee, drawn from each of the three orders, ſhould be appointed

to concert the ſpeedieſt means for alleviating the diſtreſſes of the poor.

The Clergy thought it would be difficult to elude a propoſal, whoſe object was to relieve the diſtreſſes of the people; and knew at the ſame time, that a Committee appointed in the manner they propoſed would have ſanctioned, in a great meaſure, future deliberations in which the diſtinction of orders ſhould be preſerved—which was preciſely what the two ſuperior claſſes had in view: and the Clergy were in hopes that the Commons would be driven either to conſent to agree to the Committee, or run the riſk of diſpleaſing the people by refuſing to concur with ſuch a benevolent meaſure.

The Third Eſtate were not caught by the ſnare that was laid for them. Comprehending fully all that was intended by this propoſition, they precluded its conſequences by the following anſwer to the Clergy:

"Penetrated

" Penetrated with the ſame ſenſe of duty that you are, and affected even to tears at the diſtreſs of the people, we entreat and conjure you to *unite inſtantly with us in the common hall*, to concert meaſures for the remedy of theſe calamities."

Inſtead of haſtening to meet the Commons with the expedition which their meſſage and the urgency of the caſe imported, the Clergy returned for anſwer, that they would continue to meditate on the propereſt means of relieving the diſtreſſes of the poor, which they acknowledged to be an object of the moſt important and intereſting nature, and which they had infinitely at heart, but that moſt unfortunately there was not a ſufficient number of Deputies preſent in their hall to decide on ſo weighty a buſineſs.

Each party, perceiving that their real deſigns were ſeen, dropped any farther uſe of pretexts which deceived neither; the name of the God of Peace was no more mentioned;

the

the high price of bread gave no farther uneaſineſs; and the poor were left in the ſame diſtreſs as before.

In the mean time the King ſeemed to have the general proſperity more at heart, and to be more ready to make ſacrifices for obtaining it, than any of the three orders: for while two of them were obſtinately inſiſting on verifying the powers of the Deputies apart, and the third declaring that it ſhould be done together, other important buſineſs was ſuſpended, to the great loſs of the public; and beſides, in plain common ſenſe, it would ſeem, that no particular order, nor all the three orders united, could with propriety verify the powers of the Deputies. This right evidently belonged to the King. The Aſſembly of the States had been called by his proclamation; it belonged to him to examine whether the Deputies had been elected according to the terms of the proclamation. It would appear abſolutely requiſite, that he ſhould authorize thoſe at

leaſt who were to begin the verification; for with what propriety could men ſcrutinize or verify the powers of their brother Deputies, whoſe own powers had not been examined and verified? Without inſiſting, however, on what ſeemed to be his right, he propoſed, as a conciliatory meaſure, that they ſhould verify their powers ſeparately, communicate the verification to each other; and, in caſe any diſputable matter ſhould ariſe on which they could not agree, he offered to be the umpire.

The Nobleſſe and Clergy agreed to the King's propoſals, and appointed commiſſaries to meet with thoſe of the Commons; who on their part, without directly rejecting the compromiſe, declared that they poſtponed their final deciſion until they ſhould receive the report of their commiſſioners after the conference. It was evident that they were reſolved it ſhould come to nothing: new matter of diſpute aroſe, as was pre-determined, at the conferences which

which were held in preſence of the Miniſter; and the King's mediation, to his great mortification, proved ineffectual.

With an averſion to intrigues of every kind, and little reliſh for the magnificence of a court or the exerciſe of power, the good-natured Prince ſupremely deſired the happineſs of his ſubjects and his own tranquillity. He had long endeavoured to moderate the diſſenſions of the contending parties; and their increaſing animoſity greatly afflicted his mind. "Je n'ai eu depuis quelques années que *des inſtans* de bonheur," ſaid he to M. Necker, ſpeaking of the violence of the parties and their reciprocal accuſations, and perhaps under the general apprehenſion of ſome of the ſubſequent evils. As to the complicated and unexampled atrocities that have taken place ſince, they could not have entered into his imagination, or ſcarcely into that of the moſt gloomy-minded prophet of evil that ever lived.

It

It is painful to reflect, that a Prince ſo averſe from diſturbing the peace of others ſhould have his own ſo cruelly deſtroyed; while thoſe who, from ambitious or ſelfiſh views, anxiouſly ſeek for a cauſe of diſcord, cry havock and let looſe the dogs of war, are permitted to paſs their lives in luxurious eaſe.

There was this ſtriking difference between the conduct of the Nobleſſe and the Tiers-Etat, that the latter, by perſiſting in a plan of apparent moderation and even inactivity, allowed their popularity, or in other words their power, to increaſe; whereas the former ſwelled in the pride of their pretenſions as their power dwindled, and proceeded to the verification of the powers of their Deputies in their own particular hall, and to other acts, as if they were a complete and legal Aſſembly; without conſidering that they thereby weakened themſelves on the ſide on which the moſt dangerous attack

attack was to be expected, and where they were already too weak. While they thus ruined their own popularity, they increaſed that of the Third Order, and furniſhed them with an example, which they followed as ſoon as they thought they would be ſupported by the approbation of the public.

Having made a new effort for the union of the orders, by ſummoning all the Deputies, including thoſe of the Nobleſſe and Clergy, they declared that they would proceed to the verification of the returns; and after that ceremony, thoſe Deputies whoſe powers ſhould be then verified in the common hall would be conſtituted a legal aſſembly, and would inſtantly aſſume the legiſlative authority.

On the thirteenth of June they accordingly began to call the Deputies, and to verify the powers of thoſe who appeared; in which number were none of the order of Nobility, and only three of that of the

Clergy. A few more of the latter joined them the following day; and on the 17th of the ſame month the Tiers-Etat, with this ſmall junction from the Clergy, aſſumed to themſelves the legiſlative government of France, amidſt the applauſe of a prodigious multitude of ſpectators.

This great and important act of power met with no oppoſition; but when the title which the Aſſembly ſhould aſſume came to be mentioned, a long debate enſued, which was carried on with more heat than could have been expected from the ſubject. On this occaſion the ſpeakers diſplayed ſuch powers of verbal criticiſm, and ſuch a degree of dialectic ſubtlety and metaphyſical diſcrimination, as is more ſuitable to grammarians and profeſſors than to ſtateſmen and legiſlators. One member propoſed that the Aſſembly ſhould be denominated "L'Aſſemblée légitime des repréſentans de la majeure partie de la nation, agiſſant en l'abſence

ſence de la mineure partie." Others propoſed titles ſtill more tedious and complex. The Abbé Sieyes recommended the following: "Aſſemblée des repréſentans connus et verifiés de la nation Françoiſe;" and ſupported it with much metaphyſical ingenuity.

In the reply which Mirabeau made to the Abbé's arguments, he ſhewed the inconvenience which might ariſe from applying metaphyſics to the exerciſe of government or legiſlation. The following extract from Mirabeau's diſcourſe is no bad ſpecimen of his eloquence. Mirabeau recommended the ſimple name of "Repreſentatives of the French People," acknowledging that thoſe propoſed by the Abbé Sieyes and others were more conformable to certain theoretical opinions, and what might be expected from philoſophers and metaphyſicians. It would have been happy for the French nation, that the Aſſembly in forming their Conſtitution had paid more attention to the follow-

ing remark made by Mirabeau on this occaſion: " Il eſt cette différence eſſentielle entre le metaphyſicien, qui, dans la meditation du cabinet, ſaiſit la verité dans ſon energique pureté, et l'homme d'état qui eſt obligé de tenir compte des antécédens, des difficultés, des obſtacles; il eſt, dis-je, cette différence entre l'inſtructeur du peuple et l'adminiſtrateur politique, que l'un ne ſonge qu'à *ce qui eſt*, et l'autre s'occupe de *ce qui peut etre*.

" Le metaphyſicien, voyageant ſur une mappe-monde, franchit tout ſans peine, ne s'embarraſſe ni des montagnes, ni des déſerts, ni des fleuves, ni des abymes; mais quand on veut realiſer le voyage, quand on veut arriver au but, il faut ſe rappeller ſans ceſſe qu'on marche ſur la terre, et qu'on n'eſt plus dans le monde idéal*."

After

* There is an eſſential difference between the metaphyſician who in his ſtudy ſeizes truth in all its energetic

After a long diſcuſſion, however, the name of National Aſſembly was propoſed by M. le Grand, and adopted by the majority; on which the hall reſounded with the cry of Vivent le Roi et l'Aſſemblée Nationale!

This debate, reſpecting the name by which the Aſſembly was to be called, reminds us of the diſpute which took place in the year 1689 between the Peers and Commons of England, on the words *abdicated* and *deſerted*; which, however, was not merely verbal; for it is more conformable with Tory principles to declare, that a King,

getic purity, and the ſtateſman who is obliged to conſider antecedents, difficulties, obſtacles; there is this difference, I ſay, between the inſtructor of the people and the political adminiſtrator, that the one only thinks of what really is, and the other of what may be.

The metaphyſician, travelling on the map, paſſes over mountains, deſerts, rivers, and abyſſes, without difficulty; but he who intends to make the journey in good earneſt, muſt keep conſtantly in his mind, that he is to travel on this earth, and not in an ideal world.

in conſequence of mal-adminiſtration and having withdrawn himſelf out of the kingdom, had *deſerted* the government, than that he had *abdicated* it; the Tories, therefore, contended ſtrenuouſly for the former. The genuine Whig principle dictated the deciſive word *forfeited*, as preferable to either; and accordingly that word was adopted by the Scottiſh Parliament, which kept no meaſures with the Tories of their country: but the Engliſh Whigs, as Hume remarks, having been joined by the Tories in bringing about the Revolution, waved a word which was offenſive to them, and, by way of compromiſe, uſed *abdicated*—to which the Tories of the Houſe of Peers were at laſt pleaſed to agree.

The word *Peuple* having by the French been long applied to the loweſt order only, it was conſidered by many members as lowering the Deputies to denominate them *Repréſentans du Peuple François*. Mirabeau, having

having obſerved this, added: " Je ſuis peu inquiet de la ſignification des mots dans la langue abſurde du préjugé; je parle ici la langue de la liberté, et je m'appuye ſur l'exemple des Anglois, ſur celui des Américains, qui ont toujours honoré le nom de *Peuple*, qui l'ont toujours conſacré dans leurs declarations, dans leurs lois, dans leur politique. Quand Chatham renferma dans un ſeul mot la charte des nations, et dit la *Majeſté du Peuple*; quand les Americains ont oppoſé les droits naturels du Peuple à tout le fatras des publiciſtes ſur les conventions qu'on leur oppoſe; ils ont reconnu toute la ſignification, toute l'energie de cette expreſſion, à qui la liberté donne tant de valeur*."

In

* I give no weight to the ſignification of words according to the abſurd language of prejudice; I here ſpeak the language of liberty, and am ſupported by the example of the Engliſh and of the Americans, who have always reſpected the name of the *People*, and have always adopted it in their declarations, in their laws, and

In another diſcourſe he acknowledges, that the word *Peuple* was often underſtood to have the ſame ſignification with *Vulgus* in Latin, *Mob* in Engliſh, what the ariſtocrates in France inſolently called *Canaille*; and for that very reaſon he prefers the *title* of Repréſentans du *Peuple* François to any other denomination for the Aſſembly. " Je perſevére dans ma motion," continued he, " et dans la ſeule expreſſion qu'on en avoit attaquée; je veux dire la qualification du *Peuple François*. Je l'adopte, je la defends, je la proclame, par la raiſon qui la fait combattre.

" Oui: c'eſt parce que le nom de Peuple

in their politics. When Chatham compreſſed the charter of nations in a ſingle expreſſion, and pronounced the *Majeſty of the People*; when the Americans oppoſed the *natural Rights of the People* to all the traſh publiſhed againſt them; they ſhewed that they underſtood the true ſignification and full energy of an expreſſion, to which freedom gives ſo great a value.

n'eſt

n'eſt pas aſſez reſpecté en France ; parce qu'il eſt obſcurci, couvert de la rouille du préjugé ; parce qu'il nous préſente une idée dont l'orgueil s'allarme et dont la vanité ſe révolte ; parce qu'il eſt prononcé avec mépris dans les chambres des ariſtocrates ; c'eſt pour cela même, Meſſieurs, que je voudrois, c'eſt pour cela même que nous devons nous impoſer, non ſeulment de le relever, mais de l'ennoblir, de le rendre déſormais reſpectable aux miniſtres et cher à tous les cœurs.

" Plus habiles que nous, les héros Bataves qui fondèrent la liberté de leurs pays prirent le nom de Gueux : ils ne voulurent que ce titre, parce que le mépris de leurs tyrans avoit prétendu les en flétrir ; et ce titre, en leur attachant cette claſſe immenſe que l'ariſtocratie et le deſpotiſme aviliſſoient, fut à la fois leur force, leur gloire, et le gage de leur ſuccès. Les amis de la liberté choiſiſſent le nom qui les ſert le mieux, et non celui qui les flatte le plus ; ils s'appelleront les

Remontrans

Remontrans en Amérique, les Pâtres en Suiſſe, les Gueux dans les Pays-Bas ; ils ſe pareront des injures de leurs ennemis ; ils leur ôteront le pouvoir de les humilier avec des expreſſions dont ils auront ſu s'honorer*."

* I perſiſt in my motion, and in the only expreſſion which is found fault with ; I mean that of *the French People*. I adopt it, I defend it, I proclaim it, for the very reaſons for which it is attacked.

Yes : it is becauſe the name of *the People* is not ſufficiently reſpected in France ; becauſe it is obſcured and covered with the ruſt of prejudice ; becauſe it conveys an idea which wounds pride and mortifies vanity ; becauſe it is mentioned with diſdain in the houſes of ariſtocrates ; it is for thoſe very reaſons tnat I adopt it—it is for thoſe very reaſons that we ought to aſſume it, ennoble it, and render it reſpectable in the eyes of Miniſters and at Courts.

Thoſe heroes who founded the liberty of Holland, more judicious than we, took the name of Gueux (beggars) ; and they would have no other title, becauſe the pride of their tyrants made them imagine they would be lowered by it ; and *that* very title, by attaching to them that immenſe claſs which ariſtocracy and deſpotism vilify,

vilify, became at once their ſtrength, their glory, and the pledge of their ſucceſs. The friends of Liberty choſe the name which would beſt ſerve her cauſe, not that which was moſt flattering to themſelves. In Switzerland, they aſſumed the name of Herdſmen; in the Low Countries, that of Beggars; glorying in the injurious appellations of their enemies, and receiving their abuſe, not as what could humble them, but as that which did them honour.

CHAP-

CHAPTER VIII.

Mirabeau—Reſolutions of the National Aſſembly—Different Conduct of the different Orders—Inflexible and unfeeling Behaviour of the Tiers-Etat—Imprudent Conduct of the higher Clergy—Popularity of the inferior Clergy—Libels, Lampoons—Univerſal Prejudice againſt the Nobles and Clergy—Reflections on the different Light in which the French Revolution is viewed by thoſe in different Situations all over Europe—Mirabeau's Journal—Conference between him and M. Necker.

MIRABEAU had offended many perſons of weight in the order to which he himſelf belonged, by his extravagancies and profligacy, more by his ſatirical wit, and moſt of all by a ſuperiority of genius which they could neither conteſt nor brook.

Perceiving

Perceiving that he had no chance of being choſen a Deputy to the States-General by the Nobleſſe, he immediately uſed his endeavours to be choſen by the Tiers-Etat. His endeavours were ſucceſsful: he not only was choſen a Deputy for Aix en Provence and Marſeilles, that very part of France which had been the ſcene of his youthful follies, and where his character was beſt known, but he alſo acquired a degree of popularity among his conſtituents, which was never ſurpaſſed, and which he retained unimpaired till his death. In general he enjoyed the ſame popularity in the capital, though during ſome ſhort intervals he loſt it to ſuch a degree, that the populace of Paris called him a traitor, and threatened him with the lanterne; particularly when he oppoſed the decree excluding the Miniſters from being members of the National Aſſembly, that concerning the King's Veto, and a third on the right of declaring war

and making peace; yet perhaps he never had more reaſon on his ſide, nor did he ever act more in conformity with the political principles which he always profeſſed than on thoſe occaſions: for Mirabeau was not a republican.

The knowledge he had of the temper and character of his countrymen, of the hiſtory of republics ancient and modern; his own reflections on the internal commotions that exiſted during even the moſt brilliant periods of the Roman commonwealth, the only one which could with propriety be adduced as an example to ſo extenſive a country as France; the favourable idea he had of the Britiſh Conſtitution; all thoſe conſiderations determined his mind in favour of a limited monarchy. But as no man ever poſſeſſed in a ſuperior degree the art of gaining the confidence of the people, and of leading a popular aſſembly; and as his own importance and power depended on

the importance of that claſs who were neither Nobility nor Clergy, he wiſhed to raiſe them from the debaſing light in which they had been long viewed in France, and to ſecure to them a reaſonable degree of power and reſpect. In contending that the Aſſembly ſhould adopt the name of *Repréſentans du Peuple*, he certainly meant no more. He who diſliked a government like the ancient Roman republic, becauſe it was compoſed of a Senate and People only*, muſt have been more averſe to one in which the People alone were Sovereign, which pretended to annihilate all diſtinctions of rank, and to eſtabliſh an inſipid equality, in which the ſuperiority of talent, which peculiarly diſtinguiſhed himſelf, would be conſidered as a ſpecies of ariſtocracy that might lead to the guillotine.

It was unfortunate for France that Mirabeau was not on good terms with M.

* Senatus Populuſque Romanus.

Necker:

Necker: if he had, the talents and addreſs of the former, co-operating with the good intentions and correcting the theories of the latter, as they were both friends to freedom and neither wiſhed for a republic, a practicable government, of a monarchical form and founded on freedom, might have been formed: or at any rate, had Mirabeau lived a few years longer than he did, his diſcernment would have detected, and his powerful ridicule would have expoſed, the folly of thoſe viſionary politicians, who, travelling over the world on a map, like his metaphyſician, regardleſs of mountains and rivers, declared that all power came from the people, neglecting to eſtabliſh at the ſame time, that the people could exerciſe no part of that power but muſt delegate the whole. His triumphant eloquence, it is probable, would have precluded the abſurd title of *Peuple Souverain*, and the miſchievous ideas which have attended it; he would have been able to convince

convince the National Aſſembly and the Nation at large, that although thoſe Princes who poſſeſſed arbitrary power were often cruel and tyrannical, yet it ſometimes happened that they were the reverſe; whereas le Peuple Souverain, acting individually and not by repreſentatives, had ever been in all ages and in all countries an unrelenting ſavage; that the natural impetuoſity of the French national character gave no reaſon to expect, that he would reign with more moderation in France than elſewhere; but that, as ſoon as he ſhould obtain that title and the power which it implies, the innate violence and fury of his diſpoſition would appear; that he would brandiſh his pike, overawe the National Aſſembly, plunge the ſuperior orders into the mire from which he himſelf had juſt emerged, murder thoſe who had raiſed him to power, and overwhelm the land with bloodſhed and terror. Such are the horrors which the penetrating genius

of Mirabeau, foreſeeing, would have prevented; and they will warn other nations ſtill labouring under deſpotiſm, what they have carefully to avoid in their exertions to obtain a free government.

After a diſcuſſion which occupied more time, and occaſioned more heat, than could have been expected from the mere queſtion of a name for the Aſſembly, that of *National Aſſembly* was adopted. The members having taken the oath to fulfil their duty to their country with fidelity, a declaration was made, that the National Aſſembly being compoſed of members delegated by an *immenſe majority of the French Nation*, would remain no longer inactive on account of the abſent Deputies or of any particular claſs of men, but would immediately begin the great work of reformation, for which they had been appointed by their country.

They pronounced, that no tax or impoſition was legal that was not confirmed or

enacted

enacted by the repreſentatives of the nation. That nevertheleſs, to prevent confuſion, the exiſting taxes ſhould be continued to be levied until they were annulled by the Aſſembly, or until the Aſſembly ſeparated. They declared that they would, in concert with his Majeſty, take the national debt into conſideration as ſoon as poſſible; and in the mean time they put the national creditors under the ſafeguard of the national faith and honour.

Theſe reſolutions were heard with applauſe by the numerous ſpectators; they were carried with all poſſible expedition to the capital, where they produced the ſtrongeſt ſymptoms of joy, which became univerſal over the nation; for thoſe who were diſſatisfied and alarmed at the proceedings, were obliged to conceal their ſentiments in this moment of enthuſiaſm.

By this act of ſupremacy without the concurrence of the two other orders, and without waiting for the approbation of the

King, they decided the queſtion which had not been yet agitated, namely, whether the National Aſſembly ſhould vote individually or by the united voice of each order. They acted not as part of an aſſembly of men delegated to remedy certain abuſes in an exiſting government, but as a complete aſſembly authoriſed to form a new government. In effect, they aſſumed the whole power of the State.

It has been ſaid, that a different conduct on the part of the two higher orders would have prevented the third from adopting ſo violent a meaſure. The ſame kind of reflection hardly ever fails to be made, when any conduct whatever has unfortunate conſequences. As that which the Nobles and Clergy purſued has led to their ruin, it is now clear that they would have been no loſers by chooſing another. When they ſaw that the Tiers, with the approbation of the People, were determined that the

powers of all the Deputies ſhould be verified in common, perhaps it would have had a happy and conciliatory effect not to have diſputed that point; their meeting and converſing daily together might have confirmed their union; whereas the refuſal of the two firſt orders to meet at all became a freſh ſource of jealouſy and hatred, and was perhaps the cauſe of their being deprived of ſome privileges which they might have been allowed to retain.

The joy manifeſted by the nation at the deciſive conduct of the Tiers-Etat tended to give them at once freſh courage and additional ſtrength; whereas it only gave to the other two orders freſh indignation, of which they poſſeſſed a ſufficient quantity before, and tended to diminiſh their ſtrength, of which they had not enough.

As the Nobleſſe and the Clergy had rallied under the Court, were directed in many points by the King's miniſters, and

belonged in general to that claſs of ſociety in which the violence of private paſſion is more under the reſtraints of intereſt or decorum, it might naturally have been expected that they would have conducted themſelves with more policy, unanimity, and energy, than the third. The fact, however, was otherwiſe. We find the Nobles and the Clergy divided among themſelves, acting without ſyſtem or courage, affecting an importance which they no longer had, and making claims which they were afterwards obliged to relinquiſh; whereas the Commons, from the firſt meeting of the States-General until the union of the three orders, never advanced a ſtep which they afterwards retracted, never turned to the right hand or to the left, but moved on ſtedfaſt to their object, making good every new right which they claimed, although moſt of them were at firſt refuſed,

and

and ſome of them ſhockingly ill-timed. Of the laſt the following is a remarkable example.

Soon after the aſſembling of the States-General, and during that interval in which the Tiers-Etat ſeemed to be patiently waiting the moment when the two other orders would unite with them, it was obſerved that, on ſending a deputation to the King, the Deputies of the Third Order were received by the Keeper of the Seals, who according to ancient cuſtom carried their requeſts to the King, whereas deputations from the Nobleſſe and Clergy were received by the King in perſon; the Third Order reſolved to put an end to this diſtinction, and for that purpoſe appointed a new deputation—ordering at the ſame time their Dean, M. Bailly, to wait on his Majeſty in perſon, and inform him that the Commons acknowledged no intermediate perſon

between the King and his People, and begged to know the time when their deputation ſhould wait on him.

The young Dauphin died on the day when M. Bailly endeavoured to fulfil his commiſſion. When the officer in waiting announced him, the King ſent him word to communicate his buſineſs in the uſual way through the Keeper of the Seals. M. Bailly then waited on the Miniſter, who having addreſſed the King on the ſubject received the following anſwer:

" Il m'eſt impoſſible, dans les circonſtances où je me trouve, de voir M. Bailly ce ſoir, ou demain matin, ni de fixer un jour pour la députation. Montrez mon billet à M. Bailly pour ſa decharge.*"

* It is not poſſible for me, in my preſent ſtate of mind, to ſee M. Bailly this evening or tomorrow morning, nor can I at preſent fix an hour for receiving the deputation. Shew my note to M. Bailly for his juſtification.

When

When this billet was read in the Aſſembly of the Commons, it excited murmurs of diſcontent. Theſe murmurs, however unreaſonable they were, ſeem to have made an impreſſion at the Court; for ſoon after M. Bailly received a letter in theſe terms: "M. le Garde des Sceaux prévient M. Bailly qu'il ſort de chez le Roi, où il étoit monté pour prendre ſes ordres ſur la députation. Quoique ſa Majeſté ſoit dans la plus profonde affliction, et que juſqu'ici elle n'ait voulu voir perſonne, le Roi recevra cependant demain la députation du Tiers-Etat entre onze heures et midi; ſon intention eſt que la députation ſoit au nombre de vingt*."

The

* The Keeper of the Seals informs M. Bailly, that he is juſt come from the King, on whom he had waited to receive his orders reſpecting the deputation. Notwithſtanding his Majeſty's being in the greateſt affliction, and that hitherto he has not been able to ſee any body, he will receive the deputation of the Tiers-Etat to-

morrow

The deputation waited on the King accordingly. Its avowed object was to repreſent the earneſt deſire of the Third Order to unite with the other two, and to complain of the obſtacles by which the Nobles prevented this union, and thereby retarded public buſineſs. In the addreſs, which was pronounced by M. Bailly, the Commons alſo declared that they gloried in their attachment to the perſon of the King, and that they would be at all times ready to ſhed their blood and ſpend their fortunes in ſupport of the true principles of the monarchy. The concluding words were, " Vos fidelles Communes ſont profondement touchées de la circonſtance où votre Majeſté a la bonté de recevoir leur députation; et elles prennent la liberté de lui adreſſer l'expreſſion de tous leurs regrets, et de leur reſpectueuſe ſenſibilité*."

This

morrow between eleven and twelve o'clock. He expects that the deputation ſhall conſiſt of twenty.

* Your faithful Commons are deeply affected at the circum-

This addreſs, under the circumſtances in which it was made, will not be conſidered as a convincing proof of the reſpectful ſenſibility of thoſe who framed it, for the King's affliction; but it is a pretty ſtrong one of the perſeverance of the Tiers-Etat in their claims, even during circumſtances in which moſt people will imagine that they might have been at leaſt poſtponed.

Although the Nobles did not act with all the ſteadineſs and unanimity of the Tiers-Etat, there was but a ſmall number who ſeceded from the general opinion of their order; but among the Clergy there was a conſiderable portion whoſe wiſhes went not along with the general inclination of theirs. This was ſuppoſed to have been owing to the proud deportment of ſome of the Digni-

circumſtances in which your Majeſty had the goodneſs to receive their deputation; and they take the liberty of expreſſing to you this teſtimony of their regret and moſt reſpectful ſympathy.

taries of the Church, who, contrary to the ſpirit of the religion they profeſſed, are ſaid to have treated their brethren the inferior Clergy with ſuch neglect and apparent contempt, as to annihilate that *eſprit de corps* which uſually binds men of the ſame profeſſion together, and inclined them to favour the Tiers-Etat, with many of whom they lived on the footing of equality and friendſhip. The unpopularity of the higher Clergy appeared ſtrongly during the election of the Deputies, and occaſioned a much greater proportion of the inferior claſs to be elected than would have taken place, had not the former deſtroyed their natural influence by an imprudent and haughty behaviour.

What the Dignitaries of the Church loſt in popularity about this period, the lower orders of the Clergy acquired, and retained until the government of the country was uſurped by a ſet of men devoid of every ſentiment

ſentiment of religion, gratitude, or compaſſion.

This did not eſcape the obſervation of thoſe who compoſed the little pieces for the theatre, who of all authors are the moſt attentive in ſeizing the reigning fancy of the times, and gratifying the public taſte: a Country Curé became all at once a favourite character on the ſtage, and was often brought forward as the vehicle of patriotic ſentiments. Sometimes M. le Curé was exhibited even in a more heroic point of view.

The beſt apology that can be made for the praiſe which is ſo often beſtowed on Princes and on men in power who do not deſerve it, is, that it ſometimes inſpires them with a deſire of becoming what they are ſaid to be already. Thus we are told, that Auguſtus was flattered into humanity. In the ſame manner I have been aſſured, that many Curés and Pariſh Prieſts, who at the

the beginning of the revolution were very cool on the ſubject, when they underſtood that they were repreſented on the ſtage as patriots and defenders of their country, at length caught fire, and became *what they beheld*—inculcating revolutionary opinions on the minds of their pariſhioners, and ſometimes leading them againſt detached parties of the enemy. I was myſelf preſent at the repreſentation of a little piece in the year 1792, which I was told was founded in truth. The ſcene of the piece was a ſmall village on the frontiers of France. While the Curé is exhorting a group of the inhabitants to maintain their freedom and defend their country, news is brought that a party of Hulans are at hand; the Curé immediately truſſes up his black robe, girds on a ſabre, ſeizes a muſket, and marches at the head of his audience to meet the enemy. In the next ſcene he returns victorious, and is welcomed with ſongs of triumph by the

wives

wives and children of the band of villagers which has repulſed the invaders.

This popularity, however, was entirely confined to the inferior orders of eccleſiaſtics. The prejudice againſt the higher claſſes continued augmenting without interruption.

It was evident, from the conduct of the Court immediately before the meeting of the States-General, from the ceremonies obſerved on that occaſion, and even from the diſcourſe of M. Necker on the firſt day of the Aſſembly, that it was intended that a diſtinction of orders ſhould be maintained, that the Aſſembly ſhould vote by orders, and that each order ſhould have the prerogative of putting a negative on the proceedings of the other two.

It is difficult to know what M. Necker's real ſentiments were on this queſtion. A fear of weakening his popularity might prevent his recommending the vote by orders; unwillingneſs to diſoblige the Court, and ſome

dread

dread of the violence of certain leading men in the Tiers-Etat, might hinder him from recommending the voting by poll. He recommended neither entirely, and yet he recommended both in ſome degree. He ſaid there were ſome points on which it was preferable to vote by order, and others on which it would be moſt expedient to vote by individual voices. What he ſaid in favour of voting by orders was greatly applauded by the Nobles and Clergy. This was ill judged; becauſe it ſhewed the importance they put on that circumſtance, and was an advertiſement to the Tiers-Etat, had they needed it, to put an importance on it alſo.

In common ſenſe, the ſtand which the Court, the Nobles, and Clergy, were making againſt voting by poll, and the diſlike which M. Necker himſelf at laſt ſhewed to it, all came too late. Whatever oppoſition was intended ought to have been made againſt

the Tiers-Etat having a double repreſentation: after that was yielded, the oppoſition was much more difficult; it was firſt agreeing to admit the lion, and then attempting to muzzle him*.

Yet notwithſtanding the deciſive ſtep which the Tiers-Etat, with ſuch of the Clergy as joined them, had taken on the 17th of June, the two higher orders continued their diſcuſſions in their reſpective chambers, and ſeemed ſtill determined not to ſanction the proceedings of the Third Order with their preſence, which they imagined was abſo-

* During the debates in the Houſe of Commons in the reign of Charles II. on the Excluſion Bill, ſome members who ſpoke againſt excluding the Duke of York from the ſucceſſion to the Crown acknowledged, however, that they ought to limit his power when he ſhould come to the throne; on which a member who was for the excluſion aſked whether, if a lion was heard roaring in the lobby, it would be moſt prudent to admit him within the houſe and then muzzle him, or ſhut the door and exclude him?

lutely neceſſary to render them legal in the eyes of the nation. They might have been convinced that this conjecture was erroneous, by the ſatisfaction and joy which was exhibited all over France, on account of the decided meaſures of the Tiers-Etat, and the declarations made to ſupport them. The Pariſians turned the refuſal of the Nobles and Clergy into ridicule: many epigrams were made on the ſubject: a ſong was ſung in the ſtreets, and all Paris joined in the chorus, which conſiſted of the following lines:

Vive le Tiers-Etat de France!
Il aura la prépondérance
Sur le Prince, ſur le Prélat:
Ahi! Povera Nobilita!

So ſudden and ſo violent was the effect of this enthuſiaſm, and of the lampoons and libels which were ſcattered all over France againſt Nobility, that what had been formerly conſidered as the greateſt advantage, and without

without ſome pretenſions to which, people were expoſed to daily mortifications, was now almoſt looked on as a crime, and became in reality a misfortune. This want of candour was not confined to the populace, but reached many of the higher claſſes of the Bourgeoiſie, who joined in the outcry of prejudice, and ſpoke of the Nobles as the moſt worthleſs of mankind, and the determined enemies of their country, for refuſing to unite with the Third Order on the preſent occaſion.

It has been already obſerved, that the Nobles and Clergy did not adopt the very beſt means for precluding or mitigating the attack with which they were threatened, and that their exertions to that purpoſe were not made at the proper time; but it ſeems the height of injuſtice to blame them for attempting ſome reſiſtance, and for not ſurrendering all their privileges at diſcretion.

To expect that thoſe on whom diſtinc-

tions and privileges have devolved through a long ſeries of anceſtors will yield them up at the firſt call of public utility, even were it clearly proved that public utility made the demand, is to expect more than infinitely the greater part of mankind would be willing in a ſimilar ſituation to grant. Thoſe who, without making any ſacrifice to the public good, abuſe others for not making the greateſt, are ſeldom poſſeſſed of even an ordinary ſhare of generoſity or public ſpirit; and there is little doubt but that many of the flaming patriots of the Third Order, thoſe who declaimed the loudeſt on the juſtice of their requiſitions, and againſt the obſtinate arrogance of the Nobles, would, had they themſelves been Noble, have declaimed with equal violence againſt the abſurd pretenſions of thoſe whom in that caſe they would have called inſolent roturiers: they would not only have called them ſo, but it is highly probable they would have

really

really *thought* all their requiſitions unjuſt and unnatural. By contemplating political queſtions often in one point of view, men are very apt to be at laſt convinced that what is moſt favourable to their own private intereſt is alſo moſt for the intereſt of the public; and therefore there are not ſo many hypocrites, or men who ſpeak and act contrary to the dictates of their underſtanding and conſcience, in either party, as the violent partiſans of each imagine.

If due weight were given to this remark, thoſe men in every country of Europe who have viewed the French Revolution in oppoſite lights, would not reciprocally accuſe one another in the unqualified manner they uſually do.

The Nobles and dignified Clergy, who enjoy great privileges and rich benefices; thoſe who poſſeſs ample ſinecure places under a government, of whatever nature that government may be; the whole race of

bankers, to whom taxes are trifles; and all government contractors, who grow rich as the State becomes poor, are peculiarly averſe to any alteration in the preſent arrangement of things, and of courſe to them the French Revolution was an object of dread from the beginning. The oppreſſion which the bulk of the French nation ſuffered from the nature of their ancient government, thoſe men imagined would never reach their own country; but the example given by the Revolution, and all the horrors which accompanied it, they thought, if not oppoſed, would ſpread over all Europe. This being their conviction, nobody can be ſurpriſed at their lamenting an event which they thought pregnant with ſuch extenſive miſchief.

Thoſe men, on the other hand, who conſider freedom as the greateſt of human bleſſings, who have a ſtrong ſenſe of the miſeries that flow from deſpotiſm, who behold

hold with indignation the cruelty and arrogance with which daſtardly power and unfeeling rank often treat the weak and the ingenious, men who, being acquainted with adverſity, have a greater ſympathy with the unfortunate than thoſe above mentioned; men of this deſcription beheld the beginning of the French Revolution with that complacency, which the expectation of ſeeing a large portion of their fellow creatures relieved from oppreſſion naturally communicates. They ſaw its degeneracy with diſappointment, grief, and horror; but were unwilling to loſe the hope that ſome rational ſyſtem of freedom, not the ancient tyranny, would ariſe out of that chaos of anarchy and bloodſhed which it had produced: and they had no fear that the exceſſes committed by the moſt impetuous nation in Europe, on their being ſuddenly unchained, would be imitated by other nations, who were in

different circumſtances and of oppoſite characters. This being their conviction, what candid mind can blame them more than the former? And of two claſſes of men, whoſe different manner of thinking on this ſubject ſeems in general to depend merely on the different ſituations in which they are placed, why ſhould the one accuſe the other of a deſign to involve their country in a ſcene of anarchy, bloodſhed, and rapine, and the ſecond condemn the firſt as the enemies of freedom and the friends of tyranny? Both thoſe claſſes, in Great Britain at leaſt, as I am perſuaded, love their country and hate tyranny: but the one are more afraid of a mob than of a ſtretch of prerogative; and the other recollect that Wat Tyler and John Cade did not reign four months, whereas Henry VIII. reigned thirty-eight years, and James II. four.

During the ſittings of the Notables M. de Mirabeau had publiſhed ſeveral pamphlets,

phlets, with a view to ſpirit up the public to inſiſt on aſſembling the States-General. After the Deputies for that meeting began to meet at Verſailles, he publiſhed a regular Journal, the avowed object of which was to give an account of the proceedings of the States-General. There were frequent inſinuations againſt M. Necker in this paper, and ſome attempts to turn him into ridicule. It was univerſally read and pretty generally approved of by the popular party in other reſpects; yet it ſeemed to have ſmall effect in injuring M. Necker in the public opinion. But having attacked ſome perſons in the two privileged orders, it was ſuppreſſed by a decree of the Council on the 7th of May. The electors of the Tiers-Etat of Paris immediately met, and publiſhed what they called a reclamation againſt the decree of the Council; and Mirabeau continued his Journal under the new title of "Lettres du Comte de Mirabeau à ſes Commettans."

Commettans." From this an idea may be formed of the ſtate of the King's authority even at this period. Mirabeau, who had not a high opinion of M. Necker's abilities, and who affected to deſpiſe them more than he did in reality, was exceedingly jealous of his popularity; but, by continuing to vent his gall againſt him in his new publication, he injured his own more than that of the Miniſter, or, what perhaps is more preciſely the truth, his wit and talent of ridicule were reliſhed, notwithſtanding their being ſometimes improperly directed. Independent of the great ſtock of popularity with which M. Necker had formerly retired from office, he had acquired an immenſe acceſſion from being univerſally conſidered as the author of the double repreſentation which was ſo unexpectedly granted to the Tiers-Etat. This rendered him an object of adoration to one party, and of execration to the other. It muſt be confeſſed, that tho

execrators have been the moſt perſevering: the former having long ſince diſappeared, the latter are to be found among the French emigrants all over Europe.

Had M. Necker been as judicious in the uſe of his popularity as he was aſſiduous in acquiring it, many people imagine, that ſome of the moſt intemperate meaſures of the Tiers-Etat would have been prevented, and the monarchy ſaved without liberty being loſt.

Proceſſes had been carried on in the criminal courts of Britanny againſt the authors of inſurrections and other exceſſes which had taken place in that province. When it was thought that the guilty were about to be condemned and puniſhed as they deſerved, M. Necker prevailed on the Council to ſuſpend the deciſions of the courts, and thereby augmented the attachment of the populace to him. A little after the meeting of the States-General, ſeveral leading men belonging

belonging to the Tiers-Etat, who had a high opinion of the talents of M. Necker, and confidence in his integrity, gave him to underſtand, that they were diſpoſed to be guided by him reſpecting their conduct in the Aſſembly. To every propoſition or inſinuation of this nature his anſwer was, " that it was the duty of the King's Miniſter to convoke the States-General, and conduct the Deputies to the door of the Aſſembly, but there he muſt leave them—to the guidance of their own underſtanding and the inſtructions of their conſtituents."

This conduct was approved of by ſome people, as what all Miniſters ought to imitate. Others gave him little credit for it, becauſe they imagined it proceeded from his preſuming, that the Tiers-Etat were diſpoſed of themſelves, without his ſecuring any particular members, to adopt his views; or, if at any time a contrary diſpoſition ſhould appear, he thought he would have ſufficient

influence

influence to ſubdue it. Whatever M. Necker's motives for not liſtening to them were; that ſuch propoſitions were made to him by various Deputies who had conſiderable influence, and that he declined them, I am aſſured of on good authority.

But, independent of the Deputies above alluded to, M. Mirabeau himſelf, at this very period, notwithſtanding all his jealouſy of M. Necker, did not ſcruple to make advances to him, and to ſhew a diſpoſition to co-operate with him in meaſures for allaying the fermentation which exiſted in the minds of the Commons, and threatened the ruin of the Monarchy. This we have on the authority of M. Malouet, a diſtinguiſhed member of the Conſtituent Aſſembly, a man of integrity, and a friend to monarchy, but not that kind of monarchy which exiſted in France previous to the Revolution—a lover of liberty, but not that kind of liberty which

has

has taken place there ſince the 10th of Auguſt 1792.

Soon after the meeting of the States-General, during the diſputes between the orders, M. Malouet drew up an addreſs, well calculated to reconcile their differences, and which he propoſed ſhould be preſented in the name of the Commons to the King. It was on the point of being adopted, when it was prevented by a manœuvre of Mirabeau, who, although he had been at one time well diſpoſed to ſupport the principles of M. Malouet's addreſs, whiſpered to the Deputies neareſt him, *Ceci eſt un meſſage du Chateau**. This immediately was ſpread through the hall, and prevented the addreſs from paſſing. Mirabeau intended this not ſo much againſt M. Malouet as againſt M. Necker and the Adminiſtration, to whom this addreſs would have been of ſervice.

* This comes from the Court.

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He had been provoked to this by the following incident.

M. Malouet, whoſe moral character was very different from that of Mirabeau, had avoided any acquaintance with him, until M. du Roverai of Geneva, at the requeſt of the latter, brought them together at his lodgings in Verſailles, towards the end of May 1789. At this meeting Mirabeau addreſſed Malouet in the following terms: " J'ai deſiré une explication avec vous, parce qu'au travers de votre modération je vous reconnois ami de la liberté, et je ſuis peut-être plus effrayé que vous de la fermentation que je vois dans les eſprits, et des malheurs qui peuvent en reſulter. Je ne ſuis point homme à me vendre lâchement au deſpotiſme; je veux une conſtitution libre, mais monarchique. Je ne veux point ébranler la monarchie; et ſi on ne ſe met de bonne heure en meſure, j'apperçois dans notre aſſemblée de ſi mauvaiſes têtes, tant d'inexpé-

d'inexperience, d'exaltation, une reſiſtance, une aigreur ſi inconſidérées, dans les deux premiers ordres, que je crains autant que vous d'horribles commotions. Vous êtes lié avec M. Necker et M. de Montmorin ; vous devez ſavoir ce qu'ils veulent, et s'ils ont un plan ; ſi ce plan eſt raiſonnable, je le défendrai*."

* I wiſhed to have ſome converſation with you, becauſe, through all your moderation, I perceive that you are a friend to Liberty. I am perhaps more afraid of the fermentation that I ſee in men's minds, and what may be the conſequence, than you are. I am not capable of baſely ſelling myſelf to the cauſe of deſpotiſm; I wiſh for a free conſtitution, but of a monarchical form. I have no deſire to ſhake the monarchy. But I perceive ſo many wrong-headed perſons in our Aſſembly, ſuch inexperience, ſuch exaltation, ſo acrimonious and inconſiderate an obſtinacy in the two firſt orders, that I dread ſome horrible commotion as much as you poſſibly can. You are connected with M. Necker and M. de Montmorin; you ought to know what their intentions are: if they have formed a plan, and if that plan is reaſonable, I am willing to ſupport it.

To this M. Malouet replied, that he had no certainty of the Miniſters having formed any plan. " Hé bien," rejoined Mirabeau, " voulez-vous leur propoſer de me voir et de conférer avec moi* ?"

On mentioning this to M. Necker and M. de Montmorin, M. Malouet found both averſe to any correſpondence with Mirabeau. They talked of his moral character, &c. M. Malouet obſerved in anſwer to their objections, that a man of ſuperlative talents, who, notwithſtanding the immorality of his character, ſeemed to have reaſonable political views, who was not decidedly fixed in any party, and who would add a great weight to whatever party he ſhould attach himſelf, was worthy of ſome attention, and deſerved to be liſtened to.

It was at laſt agreed, that M. Necker

* Well, will you propoſe to them to ſee me, that we may have a conference?——See Collection des Opinions de M. Malouet, tome troiſieme, Paris 1792.

ſhould receive Mirabeau the following morning. The meeting took place accordingly; the Miniſter's behaviour was cold in the higheſt degree. Mirabeau, obſerving this, reduced his to the ſame temperature: each imagined it was the duty of the other to break the ice; which neither condeſcending to do, their meeting was as ineffectual for the intended purpoſe, as that of two watermen brought to row in the ſame boat, who, on arriving at Whitehall Stairs, find the Thames frozen.

As Mirabeau retired, he ſaid to M. Malouet, "I ſhall not make them another viſit, but they ſhall hear of me." M. Malouet obſerves, that Mirabeau kept his word but too well; and the firſt opportunity he had of ſhewing his reſentment was on the occaſion above mentioned.

CHAPTER IX.

M. Necker forms a Plan of Government, which with little Alteration is approved of by the King and Council of State—Majority of the Clergy determine to join the Tiers-Etat—Proclamation for a Royal Seſſion—The Tiers-Etat excluded from their Hall—Oath taken in the Tennis Court—The King's Declaration and Speeches—Marquis de Brézé—Mirabeau's Anſwer him—Decrees of the Aſſembly—The Timidity of the Council—The Cauſes of it.

IT is apparent that, from the firſt aſſembling of the States-General at Verſailles to the time the Tiers-Etat declared themſelves a National Aſſembly, M. Necker counted too much on his own importance, and imagined that it would be at any time

in his power to prevent their going into dangerous exceſſes. It muſt be confeſſed, that he at this period enjoyed a degree of influence at Court and popularity in the country that no Miniſter had ever before united. Without having the title of Prime Miniſter, he almoſt dictated all the deciſions of the Cabinet: for his advice was always adopted by the King; the other members of the Adminiſtration had more the appearance of his clerks than of his colleagues, and found it abſolutely neceſſary to be equally obſequious. His houſe was filled with Deputies from morning to night, and ſeveral who were conſidered as leading ones were of the number.

M. Necker's importance, from the time that he began to act a public part in France, had always depended either on the favour of the Monarch or on that of the People, or on both. The Nobles, the Clergy, and the Parliaments, were no way connected with it:

it: none of theſe claſſes had ever ſhewn any partiality to M. Necker, and certainly he never ſhewed any partiality to them. It is moſt natural for men to impute an evil rather to ſomething from which they themſelves derive no benefit, than to that from which they derive the moſt flattering advantages. M. Necker might therefore be inclined to think, that the oppreſſions ſuffered by the French people, and the public misfortunes, proceeded infinitely more from the privileges enjoyed by the Nobles, the Clergy, and the Parliaments, than from the power of the Crown; and that the double repreſentation granted to the Tiers-Etat would go more directly to control the former than the latter. He muſt alſo have known indeed, that the Nobles, the Clergy, and the Parliaments, formed the only checks to deſpotiſm that exiſted in the ancient government of France; but he might imagine that the new importance acquired by the

Tiers-Etat would render thoſe checks unneceſſary, and that he himſelf poſſeſſed the power of dictating to the latter—*thus far ſhalt thou go, and no farther.* But when he perceived the independent and triumphant manner in which the Third Order proceeded on the 17th of June, he began to fear that not only the privileged orders but the Crown itſelf, and that degree of authority which is neceſſary to give effect and energy to government, were in danger; and he imagined it was full time to pronounce his veto, and prevent the torrent of democracy from rolling any farther.

The Nobles, who had as little faith in M. Necker's abilities as they had love for his perſon, and perſuaded that the torrent could be no more ſtopped by his influence than the waves were by the voice of Canute, were ready to ſink into deſpair.

It was moved in their aſſembly, that, after inviting the Clergy to join them, they ſhould conſtitute

conſtitute themſelves into an Upper Houſe, in imitation of the Britiſh Houſe of Peers. Whether it proceeded from prejudice againſt whatever is Britiſh, or that they were ſhocked at the idea of depreciating the pure metal of nobility with ſuch a maſs of eccleſiaſtical alloy, the propoſal was heard with indignation and rejected with ſcorn. In an addreſs to the King they juſtified their own conduct, and ſtrongly accuſed the Tiers-Etat for their late uſurpations, particularly for declaring all the taxes illegal.

M. Necker in the mean time compoſed a kind of plan of government, or declaration of rights, which he expected would moderate the fermentation, and conciliate the minds of the Commons, while it would alſo prove in ſome degree ſatisfactory to the other orders. In the ſyſtem here traced out by M. Necker, many ſources of complaint and oppreſſion were removed; and on the whole it was well conceived, and might have

formed the baſis of an excellent conſtitution. Had he adviſed the King and prevailed on him to have made the ſame propoſal at the firſt meeting of the States-General, before the minds of the Deputies were heated by debate, and provoked by oppoſition, it would in all probability have been joyfully accepted. Such a ſedate and ſteady ſtep towards Liberty would have led to her attainment with much more certainty than all the furious ſtrides and jumps, by which the French nation afterwards overſhot her, and caught Licentiouſneſs in her ſtead.

M. Necker preſented his plan to the King, adviſing his Majeſty to lay it before the States-General, at a royal ſeſſion to be directly ſummoned for that purpoſe. The King, who had hitherto implicitly approved of M. Necker's propoſals, ſummoned an extraordinary council on the preſent occaſion, to examine the piece which the Miniſter had preſented to him.

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The plan was in general approved of by this council. A very few alterations were made, and thoſe, as I am aſſured, not very material; the moſt important being in the words, and not in the meaning or import of the articles.

There had long been different forms of expreſſion uſed by the Council for the annulling of acts or judgments of courts of juſtice, or of municipalities. The moſt rigorous form was in the uſe of the word, *caſſation*; the moſt moderate form conſiſted in the following terms: *ſans s'arrêter à tel jugement que le Roi declaroit comme non avenu*—that is to ſay, the King orders the contrary, as if the act or judgment had never paſſed. In the plan delivered to the Council by M. Necker, he made uſe of the moſt moderate form in annulling the decrees of the Tiers-Etat of the 17th of June. The Council, to mark with the greater force the King's diſapprobation of thoſe decrees, uſed the

the moſt rigorous term, particularly in the third article, *Le Roi caſſe et annulle, comme anticonſtitutionnelles, contraires aux lettres de convocation, et oppoſées à l'interét de l'Etat.* M. Necker certainly was in the right: provided the giant *be* deſtroyed, it is of no importance whether he dies by a ſtone from the ſling of a ſtripling, or by the thunderbolt of Jupiter. Yet the King adhered to the alterations made by the Councils, which was unfortunate; becauſe by that means the form of declaration moſt likely to offend the Aſſembly was adopted; and alſo becauſe, however immaterial the difference between the two forms was, ſtill that which was preferred could not be ſaid to be the work of M. Necker, which alone would have ſecured it a more favourable reception.

On the 19th of June, the Aſſembly of the Clergy, who had been diſputing for ſeveral days *where* they ſhould verify their powers, decided by a ſmall majority to join

the National Aſſembly—which ſtruck ſuch an alarm into the Aſſembly of the Nobles, that one of them propoſed to addreſs the King to diſſolve the States-General. This meaſure was not adopted: but the Court ſeem to have been as much alarmed as the Nobles; for a party of the guards were ordered to take poſſeſſion of the hall on the morning of the 20th of June, when the junction was to have been, and at the ſame time a proclamation was made in the following terms:

"De par le Roi. Le Roi ayant réſolu de tenir une ſéance royale aux Etats-Généraux, Lundi 22 Juin, les préparatifs à faire dans les trois ſalles qui ſervent aux aſſemblées des ordres, exigent que les aſſemblées ſoient ſuſpendues juſqu'après la tenue de ladite ſéance."

When M. Bailly, the Preſident of the Aſſembly, came to the gate of the hall, he was refuſed admittance, and then demanded to

ſpeak to the officer of the guard. The officer told him, that he had orders to permit no perſon whomſoever to enter the hall of the *States-General.* " I proteſt againſt ſuch orders," ſaid M. Bailly, " and I will give an account of this to the *National Aſſembly.*"

The Deputies were at this time in various groups ſtanding before the gate. A rumour was ſpread, that the intention of the Court was to diſſolve the States-General. This occaſioned a clamour among the multitude which ſurrounded the groups of Deputies, every minute augmenting. " Gentlemen," ſaid M. Bailly addreſſing the Deputies, " it is not a particular ſpace ſurrounded by walls which conſtitutes a National Aſſembly; we may aſſemble within or without, in the plains or in the mountains; wherever we meet, we equally are the National Aſſembly."

" Let us go forthwith to Marly," ſaid one

one of the Deputies, " and hold a ſeſſion on the terrace; let the King himſelf take his place among us, and hear the language of liberty."

But M. Bailly, having called the Secretaries of the Aſſembly to accompany him, went again to the gate of the hall, and required that all the papers belonging to the Aſſembly might be delivered to them. The officer immediately allowed them to enter, and to take the papers. The workmen had already removed all the benches, and were erecting a throne, and making other preparations for the royal ſeſſion.

At this time it rained violently. Unwilling, however, to ſeparate before they had come to ſome general reſolution, the Preſident invited the Deputies to accompany him to an adjacent tennis-court, where they might hold a meeting.

The various groups of Deputies then uniting into one body followed the Preſi-

dent, and in the enthuſiaſtic ſtate of their minds it will readily be imagined, that the applauſe of the ſurrounding multitude was a full compenſation for the inconveniencies they ſuffered from the rain: it is more than probable indeed, that the ſhower which was then at the height, by rendering the ſcene more affecting, and giving it the appearance of perſecution, increaſed the enjoyment of many of the actors; and although the rain was the only incident in thoſe ſcenes which could not poſſibly be charged againſt the Court, yet it contributed more than all the reſt to augment the indignation of the multitude, rendering the Court more odious and the Deputies more precious in their eyes, by fixing on them in ſome degree the character of martyrs in addition to that of patriots.

When they were convened in the tenniscourt, M. Bailly read a letter to the Deputies, which he had received that morning, informing him, that the King had ordered

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the heralds to proclaim a royal ſeſſion to be held on the 22d; and that the hall muſt of courſe be prepared for that purpoſe. He alſo communicated to them the anſwer which he had ſent to the Marquis de Brézé, the Maſter of the Ceremonies, and which was in theſe words: "N'ayant pas encore reçu d'ordres du Roi, Monſieur, et l'Aſſemblée étant annoncée pour huit heures, je me rendrai où mon devoir m'appelle*."

The Preſident, no doubt, intended that it ſhould be underſtood from this anſwer, that he would take nothing as an order from the King, which did not come directly from his Majeſty to him without the intervention of a third perſon.

M. Bailly had ſcarcely finiſhed reading the anſwer he had ſent to the Marquis de

* Having received no particular order from the King, Sir, and the Aſſembly having been appointed to meet at eight o'clock, I ſhall go where my duty calls me.

Brézé,

Brézé, when he received another letter from the ſame gentleman, declaring that it was by the *poſitive orders of the King* he had ſent him word, that as a royal ſeſſion was to be held on the 22d, which required preparations in the three halls of the three different orders, it was his Majeſty's pleaſure that there ſhould be no meeting of the Deputies until then; and that he had given orders, that no perſon ſhould be admitted into the hall.

This excited freſh indignation and ſome threats againſt the Marquis de Brézé. It was the univerſal opinion of the Deputies, that there was an intention to diſſolve the Aſſembly of the States-General.

M. Bailly, having exhorted them to calmneſs, deſired their opinions with reſpect to the proper meaſures to be adopted in the preſent emergency. M. Target, M. Barnave, and others, made diſcourſes, the tendency of which was to increaſe a heat,

which

which of itſelf was every moment augmenting. At length M. Mounier, a man of moderation, whoſe views were directed to a reform of government conſiſtent with the preſervation of the monarchy, propoſed an oath to be taken on the ſpot by the Deputies, never to part until the important objects for which they had been choſen by their conſtituents were attained, and the Conſtitution was completed. This motion having been univerſally approved, M. Bailly in the moſt ſolemn manner pronounced the words of the oath, to which all the Deputies, joining hands, announced their adherence by an affirmative acclamation, which was followed by the ſhouts of the ſpectators, who, in the fervour of enthuſiaſm, poured many bleſſings on the Deputies as the ſaviours of their country. M. Necker was at this time abſent from Verſailles, attending a dying relation, and entirely eſcaped the

odium in which the Court and other Miniſters were involved.

The following day the Court returned from Marly to Verſailles, and a rumour ſpread that the King had abandoned the meaſure of holding a royal ſeſſion. The joy which this news occaſioned at Paris is a ſufficient evidence, that ſomething pernicious was expected from that meaſure. It was not abandoned, however, but only poſtponed for one day, and inſtead of the 22d the 23d was announced by proclamation as the day on which it was to be held; and, that M. Bailly might have no reaſon to complain of not being made acquainted with the King's pleaſure by a direct meſſage from his Majeſty, a letter was ſent to him in theſe words:

"Je vous préviens, Monſieur, que la ſéance que j'ai indiquée pour demain, Lundi, n'aura lieu que Mardi à dix heures du matin,

tin, et que la ſalle ne ſera ouverte que pour ce moment. Signé, LOUIS*."

The Marquis of Brézé, who tranſmitted this note from the King to M. Bailly, requeſted at the ſame time, that the latter would acknowledge the receipt of it—which the Preſident did in the following laconic terms :

" Jai reçu, Monſieur, la lettre du Roi, qui m'eſt addreſſée, et que ſa Majeſté vous a chargé de me faire tenir. J'ai l'honneur d'être, &c.†"

In adviſing the King to addreſs his letter directly to M. Bailly, in conſequence of the hint given in his former note to the Mar-

* I premoniſh you, Sir, that the ſeſſion which I intended for to-morrow, Monday, will not take place till Tueſday at ten o'clock, and that the hall will not be open till then. Signed, LOUIS.

† I have received, Sir, the King's letter which was addreſſed to me, and which his Majeſty ordered you to tranſmit to me. I have the honour to be, &c.

quis de Brézé, there appears a degree of condeſcenſion which does not at all accord with the lofty meaſures of the Court on the 20th, and ſeems to indicate a diſpoſition to relinquiſh them. It was evident, however, from the King's note, that his Majeſty expected that no attempt ſhould be made to aſſemble the Deputies in the common hall, or elſewhere, before they met at the royal ſeſſion. This did not prevent M. Bailly and the Deputies from going to the tennis-court, with a view to hold their Aſſembly and unite with the Clergy; but they found it ſo much crowded with the people who were deſirous of being witneſs to that ceremony, that they retired in ſearch of a more commodious place, and firſt applied to the Monks of the Convent of Recolets for the uſe of their church. Thoſe fathers repreſented, that as they depended on the bounty of the King for their maintenance, they begged that their church might not be made

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uſe of for a purpoſe which their benefactor diſapproved. From the Recolets M. Bailly and the Deputies repaired again to the gate of their own hall, and were again refuſed admiſſion by the guards. As they muſt have foreſeen that this would be the caſe, the ſecond attempt could only be intended to augment the rage of the people againſt thoſe who treated their repreſentatives with ſuch indignity, and forced them to wander from place to place for ſhelter, and in ſearch of a hall to aſſemble in. What renders this conjecture the more probable is, that the inſtant the officer of the guards refuſed them admittance, the Preſident and all the Deputies betook themſelves to the church of Saint-Louis; into which having entered without difficulty, the oath taken at the tennis-court was adminiſtered to thoſe Deputies who had not been preſent on that occaſion. While they were employed in this manner, and in ſettling ſome other

ceremonials, the majority of the Clergy were aſſembling in the choir. When all were adjuſted, the Clergy, with ſeveral Biſhops at their head, joined them. The doors of the choir were thrown open. The Deputies of the Tiers-Etat received their new aſſociates with open arms, and the vault of the church reſounded with the acclamations of the ſpectators. The Clergy took their ſeats on the right hand of the Preſident. The Marquis of Blacon and the Comte Antoine d'Agoult, Deputies from the province of Dauphiny, attended on this occaſion, and had their powers verified. They ſaid that they were prompted to this ſtep, without waiting for the reſt of the order to which they belonged, by their conſciences and by love for their country. They were the only Deputies of the order of Nobleſſe who joined the Tiers-Etat previous to the royal ſeſſion.

On the 23d of June, all the ſtreets of Verſailles leading to the hall of the Aſſem-

bly

bly were filled with detachments from the French and the Swiſs guards, while parties of the Marechauſſée patrolled around the hall, and through all the ſtreets, with orders to diſperſe crowds or groups, wherever they were obſerved to be forming.

By the proclamation the Deputies were directed to attend at ten in the morning; but, according to the ceremonial which was obſerved, the Clergy were admitted firſt, and placed at the right hand of the throne prepared for the King. The Nobles were introduced next, and ſeated on the left. This took up a conſiderable ſpace of time, during which the Deputies of the Third Order were obliged to ſeek ſhelter from the rain in an old wooden houſe near the hall, and on the great avenue.

As the two privileged orders were not placed ſo ſoon as was expected, it was imagined that the time was prolonged unneceſſarily. M. Bailly had ſome ſharp alterca-

tion with the Marquis de Brézé on that account; but the Tiers-Etat were at laſt admitted, and placed themſelves below the two other orders on each ſide, and at the end of the hall oppoſite to the throne.

The King having left the palace as ſoon as the Deputies were placed, arrived with a pompous retinue, and ſeated himſelf on the throne a little after eleven. He was ſurrounded by the Princes of the blood, the Dukes and Peers, and certain officers of the houſehold; four heralds, with their king at arms, ſtood in the middle of the hall; and the Miniſters were ſeated around a table immediately before the throne. But one chair was vacant: M. Necker was ſtill in attendance on his ſick relation. Some think that he ſacrificed public duty a little too much to private feeling on this occaſion; others accuſe him of having abſented himſelf from pique, becauſe the memorial and plan which he had drawn up was not *literally*

adopted

adopted by the Council and approved by the King. But, whatever was the cauſe, his abſence had an ill effect; it gave the public an impreſſion that he did not approve of the meaſures of the Court, and it rendered the Deputies ſuſpicious even of thoſe parts of the King's declaration which were the moſt agreeable to their own principles. This jealouſy and diſtruſt threw a gloom over the meeting, which was augmented by the accident of one of the King's ſecretaries dying of an apoplexy in the middle of the hall.

The King having pronounced an introductory diſcourſe, the Declaration or Plan of a new Conſtitution and Syſtem of Government was read. By this the proceedings of the National Aſſembly were annulled; the liberty of the preſs was recommended, but with ſuch reſtrictions as might have had a tendency to render it of little utility. A deſire to ſecure perſonal freedom was expreſſed;

preſſed; but the Aſſembly were invited to reconcile the abolition of lettres de cachet, ſo univerſally wiſhed for, with the ſafety of the government, the power of repreſſing the firſt ſymptoms of ſedition, and *ſecuring the honour of private families**.

On

* The laſt article may ſeem extraordinary to Britiſh ſubjects, who will naturally think, that the honour of private families would have a greater chance of being injured than protected by lettres de cachet. But, during the ancient government, when any perſon of a noble family was condemned by law to be publicly executed, all their relations, whether they had any regard for the condemned perſon, or any belief of his innocence or not, uſed their intereſt to prevent his execution—becauſe, from an old prejudice ſtronger in France than in any other country, a public execution was conſidered as diſhonouring the whole family. When the caſe, therefore, was thought too atrocious to give hopes of obtaining a full pardon, the relations made intereſt for a lettre de cachet, to ſhut up the criminal for life. This is probably what is alluded to in the King's declaration, by the expreſſion of ſecuring the honour of private families. Yet no maxim was more admired or oftener quoted

On the other hand, the King was by this plan bound from eſtabliſhing any new tax without the conſent of the repreſentatives of the nation. No privilege or diſtinction of orders was to prevent the equal payment of taxes. The Corvée, ſo oppreſſive on the peaſantry, was to be entirely aboliſhed. The diſtinction of orders was to be preſerved; but the Deputies were to aſſemble and debate in common, and the public repreſentation was to be ſacred from the encroachments of the Crown. Many other ſalutary plans of reform were recom-

quoted by the French, than the fine expreſſion of one of their own poets,

Le crime fait la honte, et non pas l'echaffaud.

This prejudice was removed by the Conſtitution, which was accepted by the King on the 14th of September 1791; and moſt fortunate it is for private families that this precaution was thought of, otherwiſe there are very few private families in France who would not at preſent be conſidered as diſhonoured.

mended;

mended; the whole manifeſting ſuch a diſpoſition to meet the wiſhes of the people as merited a return of gratitude, and formed a foundation upon which a happy and permanent ſtructure of free government might have been built.

Of all the articles in the King's declaration, perhaps the moſt unpopular and offenſive was that prohibiting any perſon except the Députies themſelves from being preſent at their deliberations, whether they were held in common or in the chambers of the reſpective orders; yet none could be more neceſſary for the maintenance of order, decency, the freedom of debate, and for the public weal.

That all the conceſſions which the King ſeemed willing to make to the wiſhes of the nation were not received by the Deputies of the Tiers-Etat with ſatisfaction, ſeems to have been owing, 1ſt, To their having been delayed until the majority of the Clergy had

united with them, which it was firmly believed would be ſoon followed by that of a great part of the Nobles. 2d, To ſome of them having been delivered in terms too dictatorial, it was ſaid that thoſe who wiſhed well to the cauſe of freedom would not adopt the language of deſpotiſm; the maxim, *ſuaviter in modo et fortiter in re*, was never more neceſſary and never leſs obſerved than on this occaſion. 3d, To M. Necker's having rejected the advances made to him by Mirabeau; for, had the latter been on a good underſtanding and co-operated with the former, there can be little doubt but their conjoint influence would have prevailed on the Tiers to have been ſatisfied with the plan as it was, or with a few alterations. 4th, The abſence of M. Necker from the ceremony of the royal ſeſſion, which convinced the people and the Deputies that he did not approve of the plan of government, and rendered them diſtruſtful of the intentions of the Court. 5th, The ill humour into which the Deputies

ties of the Third Order were thrown, by the ſudden ſhutting up of their hall, and by the marks of neglect or contempt which were ſhewn to them on various occaſions between that period and the royal ſeſſions. 6th, The numerous military detachments that patrolled through the ſtreets of Verſailles, and around the hall of the Aſſembly, on the day of that ſeſſion. At a time when ſo many incidents concurred to fill the minds of the people with prejudice againſt the Nobleſſe, diffidence of the Court, and an enthuſiaſtic veneration for the Deputies of the Third Order; when the Deputies themſelves had caught freſh enthuſiaſm from that of the people, and freſh courage from a view of the ſupport they had; nothing could be worſe judged than the oſtentatious proceſſion of the Court from the palace to the hall, the embroidered heralds and numerous guards, as likewiſe the unuſual diſplay of pompous carriages and gaudy liveries of the

Nobleſſe;

Nobleſſe; while the Deputies of the Tiers-Etat, who in fact had the power of the ſtate in their hands, were huddled together under the ſhade of an old houſe, until thoſe who were thought worthy of attention being commodiouſly ſeated, they at laſt were allowed to enter and ſtand like a mob at the bottom of the hall. Pompous ceremonies and proceſſions, when the minds of the ſpectators are averſe to the occaſion of them and alienated from the performers, inſtead of veneration excite diſguſt or contempt. It is performing high maſs with Romiſh ſplendour before a congregation of preſbyterians.

After the declaration was read, no mark of approbation or diſcontent, except that of profound ſilence, was given. The King then roſe, and addreſſing the Aſſembly once more ſaid, " Vous venez, Meſſieurs, d'entendre le réſultat de mes diſpoſitions, et de mes vues; elles ſont conformes au vif deſir

que j'ai d'opérer le bien public ; et ſi par une fatalité loin de ma penſée vous m'abandonniez dans une ſi belle entrepriſe, ſeul, je ferai le bien de mes peuples, &c. &c.

" Refléchiſſez, Meſſieurs, qu'aucun de vos projets ne peut avoir force de loi ſans mon approbation ſpeciale. Ainſi je ſuis le garant naturel de vos droits reſpectifs, et tous les Ordres de l'Etat peuvent ſe repoſer ſur mon equitable impartialité. Toute défiance de votre part ſeroit une grande injuſtice. C'eſt moi juſqu'à preſent qui fais tout pour le bonheur de mes peuples ; et il eſt rare, peut-être, que l'unique ambition d'un ſouverain ſoit d'obtenir de ſes ſujets qu'ils s'entendent enfin pour accepter ſes bienfaits."

He

* You have heard, gentlemen, the reſult of my intentions or views ; they are conformable to the lively deſire I have for the public good ; and if you, by ſome fatality far from my thoughts, ſhould abandon me in ſo praiſeworthy an enterpriſe—I alone will accompliſh the happineſs of my ſubjects, &c.

Recollect,

He concluded by ordering them to ſeparate directly, and to aſſemble the following day, each in the chamber appropriated to the order to which he belonged.

If it were not known, that no part of the ſpeeches pronounced by the King on this occaſion, nor of the declaration read in his name, were of his compoſition, the ſelf-ſufficiency and loftineſs of this ſpeech are ſo contrary to the natural diffidence of his character, that it would be quite apparent that this at leaſt could not be his. It is certainly

Recollect, gentlemen, that none of your projects can have the force of law without my particular approbation. Thus I am the natural guarantee of your reſpective rights, and all the orders of the State may rely upon my juſtice and impartiality—all diffidence on your part would be doing me great injuſtice: it is I who have hitherto done all for the good of my people; and it is perhaps a little ſingular, that the ſole ambition of a Sovereign ſhould be to prevail on his ſubjects to agree with each other, that they may receive his favours to the greater advantage.

not unuſual for Miniſters to regale the Sovereigns, in whoſe ſervice they are, with occaſional treats of panegyric; but they generally contrive to have them pronounced by ſome other orator than the Sovereign himſelf; and the Miniſters of Lewis XVI. were blameable for having deviated from the eſtabliſhed cuſtom in the preſent inſtance; but they were ſtill more blameable for placing their maſter in the awkward ſituation of giving commands, without having ſecured the means of enforcing obedience.

As ſoon as the King had pronounced this peremptory order, he retired, and was followed by the Nobility and the majority of the Clergy. The Deputies of the Commons remained. They ſeemed indignant, but not intimidated. As a hint to them to withdraw, workmen were ſent into the hall to remove the throne and the benches near it. More reſpectful than thoſe who ſent them, the workmen ſuſpended their labour, on perceiving

perceiving that the Deputies did not retire. When their perſeverance was known at the Court, M. de Brézé, an officer, was ſent to remind them of the King's orders. To this admonition M. Bailly, the Preſident, replied, that the National Aſſembly received orders from no perſon. An interval of ſilence followed, during which it was doubtful whether all the Deputies approved the Preſident's anſwer or not. Mirabeau ſeizing the critical moment exclaimed, " Nous avons entendu les intentions qu'on a ſuggerées au Roi"; and then, addreſſing the officer of the court, continued, " et vous qui ne ſauriez être ſon organe auprès des Etats Generaux, vous qui n'avez ici ni place, ni voix, ni droit de parler, vous n'êtes pas fait pour nous rappeller ſon diſcours ; allez dire à ceux qui vous envoient que nous ſommes ici par la volonté du Peuple, et qu'on ne nous en arrachera que par la puiſſance des bayonettes*."

The

* Yes, we have heard what the King has been prevailed

The immediate effect of this ſpeech of Mirabeau was, that the Deputies, by a general acclamation, announced their aſſent to what he had pronounced. The Preſident then addreſſing himſelf to M. de Brézé ſaid, "The Aſſembly decreed yeſterday, that they would continue their meeting after the royal ſeſſion; I can make no alteration in this decree."—"Shall I carry that anſwer to the King?" ſaid M. de Brézé. "Yes, Sir," rejoined the Preſident.

When De Brézé was withdrawn, Mirabeau propoſed, that the perſons of the Deputies ſhould be declared inviolable, and that whoever ſhould make any attempt againſt their liberty ſhould be deemed traitors to

on to expreſs. But you, who cannot be his organ in this aſſembly; you, who have here neither ſeat nor vote, nor any right whatever, are not the proper perſon to remind us of his diſcourſe. Go and tell thoſe who ſent you, that we are here aſſembled by the will of the French people, and nothing will make us retire but the bayonet.

the

the country, and guilty of a capital crime; which paſſed into a decree immediately. The Abbé Sieyes made an harangue, the tendency of which was to encourage them to adhere to their purpoſe of re-eſtabliſhing the nation in its rights, and forming a free conſtitution, which no power on earth, he ſaid, had a right to do for them; and he uſed an expreſſion, which was admired at the time, and has been often quoted ſince: "Do you not feel, gentlemen, that you are to-day what you were yeſterday?" He finiſhed his ſpeech by moving, that their Aſſemblies ſhould be public. No authority, he added, ſhould prevail on them to exclude the People from hearing their debates. This alſo was agreed to, and the Aſſembly ſoon after broke up.

When M. le Marquis de Brézé made his report to the Council of the manner in which the King's orders had been obeyed, they ſeemed in a greater dilemma and much

more alarmed than the Aſſembly had been when they heard them delivered*.

As there were four thouſand guards under arms on the day of the royal ſeſſion, and ſeven or eight regiments in the neighbourhood of Verſailles, the paſſive timidity of the Council may ſeem extraordinary. The following circumſtances are ſaid to have made a ſtrong impreſſion, and to have contributed to an alteration in their meaſures.

* Thoſe who ſuggeſted theſe peremptory orders given by the King on the preſent occaſion, ſeem to have acted on the ſame principle with Bays in the Duke of Buckingham's Rehearſal—who, to make ſure of the ſucceſs of his piece, ſaid, that he would appear on the ſtage in mourning, attended by an executioner, and roundly tell the audience, that if they did not immediately applaud his play, he would order the executioner to cut off his head before their faces; on which, adds he, they will all applaud. But on its being ſuggeſted, that poſſibly the audience might not applaud, Bays had thought of no ſubterfuge, by which he might avoid the other alternative.

At

At the ceremony in the tennis-court on the 20th, ſeveral of the guards had appeared greatly affected; and it was believed, that none but the foreign troops would have obeyed, if any violence had been ordered to be uſed to the Deputies. When the King returned from the Aſſembly to the palace on the 23d, although the ſtreets were crowded with people, they maintained a ſullen ſilence. No ſign of applauſe, not ſo much as a ſingle *Vive le Roi!* was heard—an event without a precedent in the annals of the French monarchy; for the French populace hitherto had been as much accuſtomed to applaud their King, whatever his character was, as often as he appeared in public, as the ancient Egyptians were to worſhip whatever the Prieſts preſented to them, whether in the form of a crocodile or a calf.

CHAPTER X.

Great Popularity of M. Necker—Diſorders in Paris—Part of the Order of Nobles join the National Aſſembly—Reflections on that Event—Populace demand to be admitted, contrary to the King's Orders—Deputation to the King on that Subject—The King deſires the Nobles and Clergy to unite with the Tiers-Etat—Debates on that Subject—The two ſuperior Orders join the National Aſſembly—Univerſal Joy—Diſcourſe of Mirabeau—Reflections.

GREAT numbers of the Deputies, after the breaking up of the Aſſembly, went directly to M. Necker's hotel; but he, on the pretext of being indiſpoſed, ſaw very few of them. It was ſoon after rumoured, that the King was diſpleaſed with the Mini-

ſter, becauſe he had not attended the royal ſeſſion, and that he was to be diſmiſſed from the Adminiſtration. In the evening, however, he went to wait on his Majeſty. This was no ſooner known, and it was known immediately, than the courts of the palace were crowded with the populace, who from time to time exclaimed, *Vive M. Necker! Point de demiſſion!* but no cry of *Vive le Roi!* was heard.

After his conference with the King, as M. Necker returned to his own houſe, the multitude ſurrounding him inſiſted on his giving his promiſe not to reſign his ſituation. This they obtained without much difficulty. The aſſurance was heard with tranſport; thoſe neareſt him held him up in their arms to gratify their fellow citizens with a ſight of this favourite Miniſter, and then actually carried him in this triumphant manner to his hotel.

The Nobles, and the minority of the Clergy

Clergy who had not united with the Tiers-Etat, met the day after the royal ſeſſion in their reſpective chambers, as the King had enjoined; but the other Deputies, ſtill retaining the name of the National Aſſembly, met in the old hall, and deliberated as a complete legiſlative body. Nothing can be a ſtronger proof how much all the King's injunctions were diſregarded, than that on this firſt meeting, although he had ordered that none but Deputies ſhould be admitted to hear their debates, a great number of ſtrangers were preſent. The ſentries at the door aſked of each perſon that preſented himſelf, if he was a Deputy; but if by his heſitation there was reaſon to ſuſpect that he was not, the ſentry whiſpered to him, *Say yes*, and immediately deſired him to enter.

While the diſputes concerning the union of the orders exiſted at Verſailles, the minds of the Pariſians were in continual agitation. Meſſengers were diſpatched ſeveral times a-day

a day from Verſailles, to inform the groups and bands of politicians in the Palais Royal, of what paſſed at the Aſſembly; and, if any one ventured to utter an expreſſion contrary to the prevailing opinion, he was expoſed to the capricious inſults of the multitude.

They obliged one perſon to make what they called *amende honorable*, by aſking pardon on his knees and kiſſing the ground; others they puniſhed with the rod; and one unfortunate eccleſiaſtic they treated ſo rudely, by ſhoving him from one ſide to the other of the circle which ſurrounded him, that he was long confined to his bed, and with difficulty eſcaped with his life from the conſequences of this barbarous ſport.

One wretch, who had a diabolical rancour againſt M. d'Eſpremenil, ſeized the moment when a bulletin juſt brought from Verſailles was read to a group in one of the public places, accuſing him as an apoſtate

from the cauſe of the people, and made a moſt violent harangue againſt that gentleman, which he concluded by a propoſal, that, as his perſon was not immediately in their power, they ſhould turn his wife and children into the ſtreet, and burn his houſe. A perſon of preſence of mind and humanity, who heard this ſhocking propoſal, and was afraid that ſome of the moſt furious might adopt it, exclaimed, " that it would be no puniſhment to the real criminal, becauſe the houſe and furniture belonged to the landlord, his wife to the public; and that as for the children, they perhaps belonged to ſome of the beſt patriots in the company."

This ſarcaſm againſt M. d'Eſpremenil was believed neither by the ſpeaker nor the audience; but as it put them in a humour inconſiſtent with the horrid propoſal, which certainly was the intention of the ſpeaker, it may be conſidered as a very happy jeſt.

Beſides the moveable groups which were conſtantly

conſtantly forming and diſſolving in the Palais Royal, a band of young men formed themſelves into a ſociety, erected a ſcaffold ſheltered from rain, in a form of a kind of hall, and, in imitation of the Aſſembly at Verſailles, choſe a Preſident and Secretaries, and debated on political queſtions. Here the moſt incendiary motions were made, and the moſt extravagant and ridiculous accuſations againſt the Miniſters and perſons of diſtinction of both ſexes belonging to the Court. Thoſe accuſations for being ridiculous were not the leſs dangerous; as they expoſed the objects of them to the inſults and fury of the mob. At the concluſion of each debate, there was a decree or ſentence, expreſſive of the opinion of the ſociety, immediately drawn up and announced to the multitude. After a long debate reſpecting M. d'Eſpremenil, who, from being eſteemed as a patriot, was now deteſted as a courtier, the ſentence of this

ſociety

ſociety was, that his name ſhould be eraſed from the liſt of Counſellors of the Parliament, and he himſelf declared a traitor to his country.

L'Abbé Maury by the ſame authority was to be placed on a pillory on the Pont-neuf, there to remain during the ſitting of the States-General.

A third ſentence was, that all perſons of the name of Polignac ſhould be tranſported to the pooreſt part of the province of Auvergne, that it might be fertilized by their riches. This was directed againſt Madame de Polignac, the Queen's favourite, who was ſuppoſed to have enriched herſelf and many of her relations at the expence of the national treaſure.

What was burleſque or humourous in theſe mock decrees made them a ſource of mirth, till their conſequences became not only ſerious but horrible. Perhaps it is characteriſtic of the French more than of

any

any other nation, to blend ſentiments of gaiety with thoſe of atrocity, although every idea belonging to the latter ought to exclude all tendency to the former. Inſtances of this unnatural mixture are not unfrequent in the writings of Voltaire; and many ſhocking proofs of it occur in the courſe of the French Revolution.

To quiet the minds of the Pariſians, and prevent diſorder, M. Necker wrote a letter to M. de Croſne, lieutenant of police, giving aſſurance that the King had no intention of diſſolving the States-General. Indeed it was now apparent, both at Verſailles and at Paris, that they would be diſſolved in no other way than by being all united with the Tiers-Etat, under the common name of the National Aſſembly. This was known to be the wiſh of the Duke of Orleans, and generally imagined, in him, to proceed from childiſh and ungenerous motives; but there were members of the body of Nobles, who, notwith-

notwithſtanding the privileges which they themſelves enjoyed, beheld with painful ſenſibility the ſufferings of the large maſs of their countrymen, under the manifold abuſes of the ancient government. Their object was the reformation of abuſes and acquiſition of freedom, by the eſtabliſhment of a government, in which the monarch as well as the people would be gainers; becauſe the power of doing wrong, and of becoming corrupt and unhappy, would be limited on his part, and the neceſſity of crouching under oppreſſion and inſult would be removed on theirs; becauſe he would acquire ſubjects whoſe love would do him honour, inſtead of ſlaves whoſe applauſe was a proof of nothing but their own debaſement. But that portion of the Nobles who thought in this manner, alſo thought, that their object was not to be attained without abandoning on the preſent emergency the claſs to which they belonged, which they ſaw attached to the

the old ſyſtem, and joining the Tiers-Etat.

A gentleman of this country, who with a moſt comprehenſive natural underſtanding poſſeſſes a great ſtore of uſeful and ornamental literature—not like thoſe who poſſeſs that kind of property, as if it were all in land or on mortgage, which cannot always be turned to immediate uſe, but like one who has the value of a large eſtate all in ſterling gold at his command, on every private or public occaſion—this gentleman obſerves, that " turbulent, diſcontented men of quality, in proportion as they are puffed up with perſonal pride and arrogance, generally deſpiſe their own order: one of the firſt ſymptoms they diſcover of a ſelfiſh and miſchievous ambition, is a profligate diſregard of a dignity which they partake with others. To be attached to the ſubdiviſion, to love the little platoon we belong to in

ſociety, is the firſt principle (the germ as it were) of public affections; it is the firſt link in the ſeries by which we proceed towards a love to our country and to mankind. The intereſts of that portion of ſocial arrangement are a truſt in the hands of all thoſe who compoſe it; and as none but bad men would juſtify it in abuſe, none but traitors would barter it away for their own perſonal advantage."

Theſe obſervations are in ſome reſpects as juſt as they are ingenious. Unqueſtionably an attachment to the little platoon to which a man accidentally belongs, is a ſtep towards general benevolence beyond mere ſelfiſhneſs; but it is a ſtep which many people take without advancing farther. In defending the privileges and claims of the particular claſs to which a man belongs, he may only think of his own intereſt; and there are inſtances of men who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves

themſelves by that kind of zeal, without any good will to one individual of the profeſſion or claſs to which they belonged.

It is an indiſputable truth, that none but traitors would barter away, for their own particular intereſt, any of the general privileges of that claſs of ſociety to which they belong; but it is equally true, that the man who is willing to join in a general ſacrifice of privileges or claims which have been long attached to the claſs or profeſſion to which he belongs, but which he thinks unjuſt in themſelves, and contrary to the good of ſociety in general, acts a nobler part than the man who at all events ſupports and defends them. And, upon the whole, I am apt to think that more evil has accrued to mankind from their unjuſt partiality to the diviſion or particular claſs to which they belong, than from their ſacrificing its intereſt from any reaſon whatever.

Has not the fellow-feeling, which exiſts

through all the branches of law and phyſic, been long felt and complained of as the ſource of many abuſes by which the public ſuffers? Has not the *eſprit de corps* which reigns among the Clergy afforded protection to much impoſture, and produced much partiality to ſome and much perſecution of others, particularly in Roman Catholic countries, where the power of the Clergy is greater, and where there are fewer and leſs affectionate bonds of relation between them and the laity?

On the 24th of June it was propoſed in the Aſſembly of the Nobles, that they ſhould unite with the Commons; and the propriety of this meaſure was ably maintained by ſome members, equally diſtinguiſhed for their talents and integrity; and on the 25th forty-ſeven Nobles, at the head of whom was the Duke of Orleans, actually went and incorporated themſelves with the National Aſſembly. Having mentioned

tioned the leader, it is neceſſary, in juſtice to this band of Nobility, to add, that the Duke of Rochefoucault, the Counts Lally Tolendal, Clermont-Tonnerre, and other men of unblemiſhed character, were alſo of the number.

They were attended through the ſtreets with the applauding acclamations of the people, and received with joy by the National Aſſembly; but the crowd which had accompanied them to the hall of the Aſſembly inſiſted on entering and being witneſſes to the happy union of the orders. When the requeſt of the multitude was announced, it produced a demur, becauſe of the King's expreſs order that the people ſhould not be preſent at their debates; for although the ſentries allowed thoſe to enter, who, from the decency of their appearance, might paſs for Deputies, they ſtill kept out the mere mob. A debate therefore enſued on this queſtion, Whether they ſhould attend

to the King's command, or to the requiſition of the mob. The reader will perhaps be ſurpriſed, that any debate ſhould ariſe on ſuch a ſubject; but he cannot be more ſurpriſed than M. Barnave ſeems to have been. He began his ſpeech in theſe words: " Il eſt étrange et ſurprenant que l'on veuille defendre à la Nation l'entrée de la ſalle nationale*!" Although he continued to ſpeak with great energy, there was reaſon to fear, from the noiſe at the door, that the people would not truſt their cauſe to the ſtrength of his arguments, but were on the point of uſing more forcible means; on which M. Bailly, the Archbiſhop of Vienne, and the Count Clermont-Tonnerre, went to aſſure them that the Aſſembly would ſend a deputation of their members to the King, to requeſt a free entrance for them into the

* It is ſtrange and ſurpriſing, that the Nation ſhould be refuſed admittance into the National Aſſemb'y!

hall,

hall, and that in all probability the doors would be thrown open on the following day. This ſatisfied the people; and the deputation was immediately appointed, and conſiſted of ſix Eccleſiaſtics, ſix Nobles, and twelve of the Third Order. This was putting the King to the diſagreeable alternative of either increaſing the diſcontent of the people, or recalling the order he had given. It was not difficult to foreſee the conſequence.

The majority of the Nobles, however, and the minority of the Clergy who had not united with the Tiers-Etat, continued to meet in their reſpective halls. The only queſtion they had to diſcuſs was, Whether they ſhould join their brethren, or continue to form chambers apart? In the chamber of the Nobles it was decided, that they ſhould at all events remain ſeparate; in that of the Clergy the ſame meaſure was

carried, but in a leſs determined manner- ſome principal members ſeceded on the 26th. In the mean time the King was in the moſt cruel perplexity; frequent Councils were held, and nothing was decided. In a private converſation which he had with the Duke of Luxembourg, it is ſaid, that the King firſt expreſſed a deſire for the union of the orders. The Duke repreſented, that this ſtep would be more injurious to the Crown than to the Nobles; that, by uniting in one Aſſembly with the Third Order, the Nobleſſe, from their rank, the reſpect due to their families, and their wealth, would retain a conſiderable ſhare of importance in the State; but that the Crown had every thing to dread from the union, and therefore that his faithful Nobles were determined to reſiſt to the laſt, and die in defence of the monarchy. The King, who had a diſlike to violent meaſures, and ſickened at the

the idea of bloodſhed, anſwered, " Je ne veux pas qu'il periſſe un ſeul homme pour ma querelle."

It would be a curious, though painful, ſubject of calculation, to endeavour to aſcertain how many of the human race, who have been cut off ſince that period, would be now alive, had all the Sovereign Princes in Europe been of the ſame way of thinking in this point with the unfortunate Lewis XVI. All the conqueſts which the moſt ſucceſsful of them have made, and all the laurels which their Generals have obtained, will hardly be thought a compenſation for ſo many hundred thouſand lives as by the loweſt computation have been loſt by the war, in the interval between June 1789 and this preſent December 1794.

On the 27th the King ſent a letter to the Duke of Luxembourg, who was Preſident of the order of Nobles, then aſſembled in their own particular hall. The letter was of the ſame

ſame import with what his Majeſty had expreſſed the preceding night, and requeſted that the Nobles ſhould, without any farther delay, unite with the two other orders in their common hall, that they might accompliſh the *paternal objects* he had in view.

The King's letter having been read, the queſtion was ſtated, Whether they ſhould unite, in conformity to the King's deſire, or not? The majority ſeemed to be for the affirmative; but a conſiderable number were of the oppoſite opinion. It was aſſerted, that it was their duty to endeavour to ſave the King in ſpite of himſelf. Some propoſed, that they ſhould bind themſelves by a ſolemn oath never to yield up their privilege as Nobles, by uniting with the Tiers-Etat in a common Aſſembly.

The Viſcount de Mirabeau, whoſe political opinions were the reverſe of his brother's, had not patience to wait for the deciſion of the Aſſembly on this motion, but inſtantly

ſwore

ſwore that, for his own part, he would not leave the chamber until they had come to a reſolution never to diſgrace themſelves by an union with the Third Order. Notwithſtanding this particular oath on the part of the Viſcount, the motion for the general one was rejected; on which it was evident, that the junction would be carried; and therefore ſeveral proteſts, very ſtrongly expreſſed, were taken by thoſe who oppoſed it. In the midſt of this conteſt, a letter was delivered to the Preſident. It was from the Count d'Artois, aſſuring the Duke that a longer reſiſtance would put the King's life in danger*.

When this was communicated to the Aſſembly, M. de Cazales, a courageous friend

* The Count d'Artois had long been unpopular; and, in ſome people's opinion, if an inſurrection had happened, the Count's life would have been in more danger than the King's.

of

of Monarchy, who imagined he ſaw its ruin in the union of the orders, ſaid, " If either the King or the Monarchy muſt periſh, our firſt duty is to ſave the Monarchy; and, if the King is in danger, let us go and form a rampart with our bodies for his defence."

The Duke of Luxembourg, however, obſerved, that there was not time to deliberate longer; it was now their duty to unite, and afterwards endeavour to ſave both. It was then agreed, that they ſhould go directly and unite themſelves with the National Aſſembly; and, that the Viſcount de Mirabeau might not be under the neceſſity of remaining in the chamber all the remainder of his life, the Preſident told him that he releaſed him from his oath—which of courſe quieted the alarmed conſcience of the Viſcount.

The Cardinal de Rochefoucault received a letter from the King at the ſame time and to the ſame purpoſe with that ſent to the Duke of Luxembourg. When the Cardinal had

had communicated its contents to the minority of the Clergy who remained in the hall of their order, they agreed without a debate to obey the will of the King.

At about four in the afternoon it was underſtood in the National Aſſembly, that the two privileged orders were coming to join them. If the Nobleſſe and Clergy had diſplayed an imprudent and invidious magnificence at the firſt aſſembling of the States-General, they avoided that error in the ceremony of uniting with the Third Order. However applauded the union was by the Nation at large, it was performed by the Nobles without oſtentation, and by the Clergy with Chriſtian humility. They choſe a time when very few members were in the hall; the Preſident himſelf was abſent; he was immediately ſent for, and arrived in time to receive the Clergy and Nobles. They entered at the ſame time at

two

two different doors, the Clergy at the right, and the Nobles at the left, and walked to their places in two parallel lines. The Cardinal de Rochefoucault as Preſident of the Clergy, addreſſing M. Bailly, ſaid, " We are conducted hither by our love and reſpect for the King, by our regard for our country, and our zeal for the public weal."

The Duke of Luxembourg, on the part of the Nobility, ſaid, " Gentlemen, the order of Nobles have this day decreed to meet at this national hall, that they may give to the King a proof of their reſpect, and to the Nation a proof of their patriotiſm."

M. Bailly, the Preſident of the Aſſembly, declared that he could not find words to expreſs the joy he felt on this happy union of all the branches of the national family; that by the junction of the Clergy and Nobility with the Third Order, the proſperity of

their

their common country was ſecured, and that day would be for ever celebrated as a feſtival in France.

As ſoon as it was known that the union of the orders had taken place at the deſire of the King, the inhabitants of Verſailles, tranſported with joy, ran in crowds to the palace. The guards, alarmed at their number and the violence of their emotion, were preparing to reſiſt their entrance, when hearing the cry of *Vive le Roi!* the gates were thrown open, and the extenſive courts of the caſtle were immediately filled with a multitude of people of both ſexes and all conditions, who begged to be gratified with a ſight of the King. The Monarch ſoon appeared at the balcony with the Queen at his ſide: both were received with applauſe, and nothing was heard but expreſſions of gratitude and admiration.

As M. Necker had been abſent from the royal ſeſſion, and had been often with the

King

King and a cloſe attendant on the Council at the time when the reſolution was taken, on the part of the King, to propoſe the union of the orders, the merit of this was imputed to him. As often as he appeared in the ſtreets of Verſailles, he was ſurrounded by applauding crowds, who exacted of him to renew the aſſurance that he had no intention to reſign; which when he gave them, the cry of *Vive le Roi!* was joined to that of *Vive M. Necker!* which they had been exclaiming from the beginning.

Couriers were continually paſſing and repaſſing between Paris and Verſailles, while the union was in agitation; and, notwithſtanding that it was pretty generally expected, yet the news of its having actually taken place produced as great demonſtrations of joy among the Pariſians, as if they had been afraid it could not happen. The moſt flattering ideas of national peace and proſperity were entertained by all ranks of people.

Mirabeau

Mirabeau ſeems to have entertained the ſame hopes of this coalition. The following are his words: " Qu'il ſera glorieux pour la France et pour nous, que cette grande revolution ne coûte à l'humanité ni des forfaits ni des crimes! Les plus petits Etats n'ont ſouvent acheté une ombre de liberté, qu'au prix du ſang le plus précieux. Une nation, trop fiére de ſa conſtitution et des vices de la nôtre, a ſouffert plus d'un ſiecle des convulſions et des guerres civiles, avant que d'affermir ſes loix. L'Amerique même, dont le genie tutelaire des mondes ſemble récompenſer aujourd'hui l'affranchiſſement qui eſt notre ouvrage, n'a joui de ce bien ineſtimable qu'après des revers ſanglans et des combats longs et douteux. Et nous, Meſſieurs, nous verrons la même révolution s'opérer par le ſeul concours des lumières et des intentions patriotiques! Nos combats ſont de ſimples diſcuſſions, nos ennemis ſont des préjugés par-

 donnables,

donnables, nos victoires ne ſeront point cruelles, nos triomphes ſeront bénis par ceux qui ſeront ſubjugués les derniers.

" L'hiſtoire n'a trop ſouvent raconté les actions que de bêtes feroces, parmi leſquelles on diſtingue de loin en loin des héros. Il nous eſt permis d'eſpérer que nous commençons l'hiſtoire des hommes, celle de frères, qui nés pour ſe rendre mutuellement heureux, ſont d'accord preſque dans leurs diſſentimens, puiſque leur objet eſt le même, et que leurs moyens ſeuls différent*."

The

* How honourable will it be for France and for us, that this great revolution ſhould be accompliſhed without offences and without crimes! Some of the moſt inconſiderable States have not been able to obtain the ſhadow of liberty, but at the expence of the moſt precious blood. One nation, too proud of her own conſtitution and of the faults of ours, underwent a whole age of civil wars and convulſions before ſhe had her laws confirmed. America herſelf, the confirmation of whoſe liberty was our work, which the guardian genius of the world ſeems

The records of the world do not afford a more ſtriking example of the vanity of human ſchemes, and the ſhortſightedneſs of thoſe who are celebrated for the moſt penetrating judgment, than the rapidity with which conſequences, directly contrary to what were expected, followed each other

ſeems this day to recompenſe, did not enjoy that inеſtimable bleſſing until after many ſevere ſtruggles and many deſperate and bloody battles. And we, gentlemen, have the happineſs to ſee a revolution of the ſame nature brought about by the union of enlightened minds with patriotic intentions. Our battles are mere diſcuſſions; our enemies are pardonable prejudices; our victories, ſo far from being cruel, will be bleſſed by the conquered themſelves.

Hiſtory too often records actions which are worthy only of the moſt ferocious brutes, among whom, at long intervals, we can ſometimes diſtinguiſh heroes. There is now reaſon to hope, that we have begun the hiſtory of men, of brothers, who, born for mutual happineſs, agree even when they vary, ſince their object is the ſame, and their means only are different.

from this period—A Nobleſſe degraded and driven into exile—a Clergy maſſacred—ſome of the moſt diſtinguiſhed Deputies of the Tiers-Etat brought to the ſcaffold by the influence of men, whoſe names were unknown to the public when the States-General were aſſembled. Mirabeau himſelf did not live long enough to be a witneſs or a victim of the cruelleſt of theſe ſcenes of anarchy and bloodſhed, and to prove whether, as is the opinion of ſome, his extraordinary talents could have at once ſecured liberty and preſerved the monarchy: but Bailly, the firſt Preſident of the National Aſſembly, was afterwards put to death, when a tribunal of aſſaſſins became the inſtruments of a thouſand murders, and when, inſtead of liberty and equality, a deſpotiſm was eſtabliſhed, which rendered the whole inhabitants of France *equally* ſlaves.

That the hopes of ſo many millions of men have been ſo miſerably blaſted; that they

they have miſſed the fair expectation of founding a government upon the ſolid baſis of rational freedom, inſtead of rearing a caſtle in the air on the ideal pillars of impracticable equality, will be regretted by every friend of liberty and of humanity. While France is at war with Great Britain, it is the duty, and will be the endeavour, of every good Britiſh ſubject, to do all in his power to defeat her ſchemes, and aſſiſt his country againſt her; but how wretchedly narrowed muſt that man's mind be, by national or political prejudices, who joins in the deſpicable cant, that France is the natural enemy of Great Britain! Can the two moſt enlightened nations of the world, who cultivate philoſophy, all the ſciences, every liberal art, with more ſucceſs than any other, be naturally enemies? To judge of the French nation from a few monſters, who have been engendered in the courſe of this revolution; and, from the crimes which

they have committed, to conclude that the people are naturally cruel and blood-thirſty is reaſoning as profoundly as thoſe who about a century and a half ago, when England was under the yoke of an hypocritical uſurper and a fanatical army, concluded that the Engliſh were all a ſet of hypocrites or fanatics. In ſpite of temporary confuſions, the national characteriſtic of both countries remains the ſame. That of France has always been vivacity and ingenuity, her inhabitants being diſtinguiſhed in every art to which they applied. In times of tranquillity they excelled moſt nations in the arts of peace; and ſince they have been driven to confine themſelves to the art of war, it does not appear that they are inferior to the moſt warlike of their neighbours. I cannot help conſidering them, therefore, in point of ingenuity, and in every thing which requires the powers of underſtanding or genius, as the ſecond nation

tion in the world. My decided opinion is, that they are the ſecond; but I ſhould rather hope, that the other nations of Europe would rank them only as the third; and this I do on the principle of the ancient Roman, who ſaid, that what convinced him that the Romans were the firſt nation in the world was, that all other nations allowed them to be the ſecond.

When the delightful climate and cheering productions of the fine and fertile country of France are taken alſo into conſideration, and, above all, when we recollect the natural temper of the inhabitants, ſo open to all the ſources of cheerfulneſs and ſo ſhut againſt thoſe of melancholy, which made them enjoy proſperity more and feel misfortune leſs than any other people; that enviable gaiety which taught them to baniſh ennui, relax the ſtiff features of formality, enliven gloom, and render joy more joyful; when we reflect on theſe circumſtances, and

on the unexampled calamities into which ſo many millions of human creatures, ſo formed, are involved; we muſt acknowledge that the ſum total of human happineſs deſtroyed is greater, than would have happened from the ſame calamities falling on the ſame number of any other people in the known world.

CHAPTER XI.

Means uſed to prejudice the People againſt the Nobles—Imprudent Conduct of the Count d'Artois—Eleven Soldiers of the French Foot Guards appeal to the People—are taken out of Priſon and protected—Treaſonable Expreſſions—Troops approach Paris and Verſailles—Diſcourſe of Mirabeau—An Addreſs from the Aſſembly to the King—His Anſwer—Secret Councils—General Alarm—Feaſt in the Elyſian Fields—Diſmiſſion of M. Necker—Tumults at Paris.

AS the refuſal of the privileged orders to unite with the Tiers-Etat had been made uſe of as the pretext for the clamour and diſcontent to which the populace had been incited, it was naturally to be expected that, this ſource of diſcontent being removed

removed at the deſire of the King, tranquillity and confidence would be reſtored.

The univerſal rejoicing which took place at Paris and all over France ſeemed to indicate this; but thoſe appearances were of ſhort duration. Some Deputies were ſtill convinced, that the Court meant the diſſolution of the Aſſembly, and waited only till a ſufficient number of troops were drawn together near the capital to render the meaſure ſafe. Theſe men were at great pains to ſpread this opinion, and to remind the public that the King had not deſired the two orders to unite until he thought himſelf in perſonal danger by their remaining any longer ſeparated; and that they had agreed to it at laſt not in compliance with the wiſhes or for the good of the people, but merely in obedience to the King, whoſe mandates they were ever ready to obey without any regard to the public benefit. To give this opinion the moſt rapid and

extenſive

extenſive circulation, they uſed a means which in France far exceeds the power of pamphlets or newſpapers—namely, conveying it in a kind of witticiſm or play upon words. It was ſaid, that the Nobles and Clergy were ſo fond of deliberating *par ordre*, that they could not be united to the Commons otherwiſe than *par ordre*; and it was added, that the two privileged orders could not be prevailed on to deliberate *par tête*, until they found themſelves in danger of being forced to deliberate *ſans tête*. Theſe jokes will not be thought marvellouſly bright; they were repeated, however, by nine out of ten who heard them, and had the effect which their authors intended.

The political theatres erected in the garden of the Palais Royal above mentioned continued their factious debates in the hearing of the populace; and many individuals were on thoſe occaſions repreſented as the determined enemies of the people, particularly

larly M. Berthier, Intendant de Paris, M. Foulon, Conſeiller d'Etat, the Count d'Artois, the Prince of Condé, the Duke of Bourbon, and many others. The impreſſion againſt them, which was thus given to the populace, proved fatal in a ſhort time to the two former, and contributed no doubt to the flight of the latter, which has been ſince thought to have had ſuch ruinous conſequences to the whole French Nobleſſe.

The Duke of Orleans was ſuppoſed, with great probability, to encourage theſe debates, and all the factious proceedings in this garden, which provoked the Count d'Artois to a meaſure, than which nothing could have been more ill timed.

It had long been the cuſtom, as a mark of reſpect to the Orleans family, for a detachment of Swiſs to mount guard at the Palais Royal. The Count d'Artois was Colonel of the Swiſs guards. In a moment of indignation at the Duke of Orleans, he

gave

gave orders that the guard ſhould be diſcontinued, the immediate effect of which was, rendering himſelf more odious to the people, and the Duke more reſpected; and what puts this inconſiderate meaſure in a ridiculous point of view, the Count found it neceſſary to reſtore the guard a few days after it had been removed.

The heat and animoſity againſt the Court, which was continually kept alive in the centre of faction at the Palais Royal, diffuſed its influence over the whole circumference of Paris, and produced frequent diſorders. The King's foot guards themſelves, by their conſtant intercourſe with the inhabitants of Paris and Verſailles, were infected with the ſpirit of the times, and had ſhewn on ſome occaſions a mutinous diſpoſition, and on others had even joined in certain diſorderly ſcenes in the ſtreets and ſquares; ſo that a government, with the pureſt intentions, might have thought it expedient at this

time, when, independent of other cauſes of tumult, there was a ſcarcity of proviſions, to order a conſiderable reinforcement of troops towards the capital, with no other view than the maintenance of tranquillity and the protection of the inhabitants. But this conſideration did not prevent the arrival of troops to the neighbourhood of Paris being imputed to ſome ſcheme of overawing the capital and diſſolving the Aſſembly; and this was not the ſuſpicion of the factious only, but alſo of many well-meaning citizens of Paris. On account of the diſorderly conduct of the French guards, they had been ordered to remain in their barracks; in contempt of which many of them had publicly appeared in the Palais Royal, and had been entertained by the people there with wine and other refreſhments. For this and other acts of diſobedience, eleven were confined in the priſon of the Abbaye until a court martial ſhould be ſummoned for their trial.

trial. On the evening of the 30th of June, a letter was thrown into the Café de Foy, the moſt frequented in the Palais Royal. It was an appeal from the priſoners to the patriots in that coffee-houſe from the cruelty and injuſtice of their officers. The letter was read, not only to the company within but to the groups without the coffee-houſe. The ſoldiers repreſented themſelves "as the victims of their patriotiſm; that their real crime was, their having refuſed to fire on the people during a late tumult; and that they were to be tranſported that very night to the infamous priſon of the Bicêtre, if they were not protected by their fellow-citizens. "Shall we allow thoſe brave ſoldiers to be puniſhed, becauſe they would not ſhed the blood of the people?" cried an orator mounted on a chair. "Let us go immediately to the Abbaye, and ſet them at liberty." The cry *à l'Abbaye! à l'Abbaye!* was inſtantly heard on all ſides; and with-

out farther proof of the facts alleged by the priſoners, about two hundred men ruſhed out of the ſquare of the Palais Royal. The band augmented on the way, and conſiſted of ſeveral thouſands by the time they reached the priſon. They immediately broke open the gates; and as they were returning with the priſoners, a troop of dragoons and another of huſſars galloped up to them with ſabres drawn. The people ſeized the reins of the horſes, and aſked if they meant to ſlaughter their friends. Thoſe on horſeback directly ſheathed their ſwords, pulled off their helmets in proof of amity, and joined the crowd in the cry of *Vive la Nation!* The priſoners were then carried in triumph from the Abbaye, which is in the ſuburbs of St. Germain, to the Palais Royal on the other ſide of the Seine, where they were received with acclamations of joy, treated with wine and proviſions from the coffee-houſes, and guarded during the

the night by a great number of armed citizens, who offered themſelves for this ſervice, on its being ſuggeſted that the priſoners might be ſeized in the night by the order of their commanding officer.

It was next determined to ſend a deputation to the National Aſſembly in favour of the priſoners. Twenty of the moſt active of thoſe who had effected their deliverance were choſen, and ſet out directly for Verſailles. On their arrival they went to the houſe of M. Bailly, and delivered to him a letter in the name of the *public*, requeſting the protection of the National Aſſembly for the ſoldiers, whom they denominated the victims of their patriotiſm. M. Bailly, having read this letter, ſaid that he did not think the Aſſembly could receive this deputation, which, although they pretended to have been ſent by the public, had in truth no public character. This affair, however, produced a long debate, in which

it was obſerved, that the Nobleſſe in general were for the maintenance of diſcipline; the Clergy, without expreſſing any indignation at the conduct of the priſoners, abſtained nevertheleſs from any recommendation in their favour; while the Deputies of the Tiers entirely favoured them, and were for recommending them to the King's goodneſs. The debate terminated in a reſolution, that the Preſident ſhould inform the deputation from Paris, that the Aſſembly would in an addreſs to the King beg of him "to employ, for the eſtabliſhment of public tranquillity, the infallible means of clemency."

The deputation was ſent accordingly. It was compoſed of Deputies from all the three orders. The Archbiſhop of Paris being of the number, delivered the addreſs to the King, whoſe anſwer imported that he approved of what the Aſſembly had done, and that he would within a ſhort time let the States-

States-General know his final determination. As nobody had any doubt what his final determination would be, the anſwer would have given general ſatisfaction, had his Majeſty not uſed the term *States-General*, which diſpleaſed ſome members. This term was ſuppreſſed, however, in the account publiſhed of the proceedings by the Aſſembly.

In the mean time the eleven ſoldiers were lodged and feaſted in the Hotel de Geneve contiguous to the Palais Royal, which, with other houſes near it, was illuminated during the night; and in the day the priſoners were under the neceſſity of remaining conſtantly at the windows in ſight of the populace.

The final anſwer of the King imported that the liberty of the ſoldiers would be the immediate conſequence of the re-eſtabliſhment of public order. Nobody could be deceived by theſe formalities: it was evident

that the King's authority was held as nothing, and that he had it not in his power either to puniſh the ſoldiers, or thoſe who had forced the priſon and ſet them at liberty. On receiving this anſwer, however, thoſe who had the ſoldiers under their protection were inſtructed to conduct them to the Abbaye as priſoners; which they did, under the full perſuaſion that they were to be ſet at liberty by an order from the King. If this article was not expreſsly ſtipulated, it is evident that it was fully underſtood. For this reaſon the praiſes of the King's clemency, which were oſtentatiouſly poured forth in the Aſſembly on this occaſion, were conſidered as ironical and inſulting, and perhaps haſtened the raſh meaſures which were ſoon after adopted.

Every intemperate and inſolent expreſſion uttered by the Deputies in the Aſſembly, and many which fell from them in private converſation, were carefully repeated

to the King by thoſe who wiſhed to prompt him to ſome more vigorous meaſures than any he had hitherto adopted.

None of the reports of this nature carried to Court was likely to make more impreſſion than what was reported of Mirabeau—namely, that on a certain occaſion, while he declared himſelf a friend to monarchy, he had added, that "it was of little importance whether they had Lewis XVI. or Lewis XVII. on the throne." There is the more reaſon to believe that Mirabeau might have allowed this or ſome expreſſion to the ſame tendency to have eſcaped from him, as he had often declared that it was a fortunate circumſtance for Great Britain, that ſhe had deviated from the direct hereditary ſucceſſion in the act of ſettlement of the crown; and whether this obſervation was made in conſequence of a plan in favour of the Duke of Orleans, or, which is much more probable, was merely the effect

of a ſpeculative opinion unconnected with any formed deſign, the mention of ſuch a thing, with the comments which would probably be made by thoſe who repeated it, was likely to ſtrike terror on the mind not only of the King, but of his brothers and other Princes of the Blood who deteſted the Duke of Orleans*.

The ſtrong impreſſion made by thoſe reports might contribute greatly to induce the King to adopt a more vigorous and decided plan of conduct than he had hitherto done.

To what extent this was meant to be carried cannot be known. That was probably never fixed upon by the parties them-

* There is no ſufficient reaſon to ſuſpect, that Mirabeau ever had formed a conſpiracy for placing the Duke of Orleans on the throne: all the length he ever went was for having him created Lieutenant General of the kingdom; and even that he ſoon abandoned, from the contempt he had for the character of the Duke.

ſelves,

themſelves, and would have depended on future incidents; but it was evident, from the great numbers of troops which by repeated orders had been drawn nearer and nearer the capital, from the manner they were poſted, and from the character of the Marſhal Broglio under whoſe command they were put, that ſome very important object was in view. It is not ſurpriſing, therefore, that the popular Deputies were under apprehenſions both for the exiſtence of the Aſſembly and for their own perſonal liberty.

The alarm was hourly augmenting, and the danger loudly announced by Mirabeau, in a ſpeech which he pronounced in the Aſſembly on the 8th of July, from which what follows is an extract: "Dejà un grand nombre de troupes nous environnoient, il en eſt arrivé d'avantage, il en arrive chaque jour; elles accourent de toutes parts. Trente-cinq mille hommes ſont dejà

repartis entre Paris et Verſailles. On en attend vingt mille. Des trains d'artillerie les ſuivent ; des points ſont deſignés pour des batteries ; on s'aſſure de toutes les communications ; on intercepte tous les paſſages ; nos chemins, nos ponts, nos promenades, ſont changés en poſtes militaires. Des évenemens publics, des faits cachés, des ordres ſecrets, des contre-ordres précipités, les préparatifs de la guerre, en un mot, frappent tous les yeux et rempliſſent d'indignation tous les cœurs.

" De quel œil ce peuple, aſſailli de tant de calamités, verra-t-il cette foule de ſoldats oiſifs venir lui diſputer les reſtes de ſa ſubſiſtance ? Le contraſte de l'abondance des uns (du pain aux yeux de celui qui a faim eſt l'abondance), le contraſte de l'abondance des uns et de l'indigence des autres, de la ſécurité du ſoldat, à qui la manne tombe ſans qu'il ait jamais beſoin de penſer au lendemain, et des angoiſſes du peuple, qui n'obtient,

tient rien qu'au prix des travaux pénibles et des ſueurs douloureuſes; ce contraſte eſt fait pour porter le déſeſpoir dans les cœurs* !"

This

* We were already ſurrounded by a great number of troops; more were ordered; more arrive every day; they hurry from all quarters. Thirty-five thouſand are poſted between Paris and Verſailles; a reinforcement of twenty thouſand is expected; artillery follow, and the proper places for erecting batteries are fixed upon; all paſſes are ſeized; our highways, our bridges, and our public walks, are changed into military poſts. The events which are publiſhed, thoſe which are endeavoured to be concealed, ſecret orders, ſudden counter orders; in a word, all thoſe warlike preparations ſtrike every eye and fill every heart with indignation.

How will a people, aſſailed with ſo many calamities, bear that a crowd of idle ſoldiers ſhould come and diſpute with them the remnant of their proviſions? The contraſt between the luxury—(for bread is a luxury in the eſtimation of thoſe who are hungry)—the contraſt between the luxury enjoyed by one and the indigence of the other; the eaſe of the ſoldiers, to whom manna falls without their needing to think of to-morrow;

This was one of the moſt eloquent ſpeeches that Mirabeau ever pronounced, and made an irreſiſtible impreſſion on the Aſſembly. He concluded by an obſervation which merits deep attention. " Enfin, ont-ils prévu, les conſeillers de ces meſures, ont-ils prévu les ſuites qu'elles entrainent pour la ſecurité même du trône? Ont-ils étudié dans l'hiſtoire de tous les peuples comment les révolutions ont commencé, comment elles ſe ſont opérées? Ont-ils obſervé par quel enchâinement funeſte de circonſtances, les eſprits les plus ſages ſont jettés hors de toutes les limites de la moderation, et par quelle impulſion terrible, un peuple énivré ſe précipite vers des excès dont la première idée l'eût fait frémir* ?"

The

row; and the painful efforts of the people, who obtain nothing but by hard labour and the ſweat of their brows, is ſufficient to make men deſperate.

Have the counſellors of theſe meaſures foreſeen or eſtimated what their conſequences may be to the Crown

The conſequence was an addreſs from the Aſſembly to the King, that he would order the troops which alarmed the citizens, and conſtrained the debates of the Aſſembly, to withdraw from the neighbourhood of Paris and Verſailles. The addreſs was drawn up by Mirabeau. What follows is a ſhort ſpecimen: " Prêts à reſiſter à tous les commandemens arbitraires de ceux qui abuſent de votre nom, parce qu'ils ſont ennemis des loix; notre fidélité même nous ordonne cette réſiſtance; et nous nous honorerons toujours deméríter les reproches que notre fermeté nous attire.

" Sire, nous vous en conjurons au nom de la patrie, au nom de votre bonheur, et

Crown itſelf? Have they ſtudied in the hiſtory of nations, how revolutions have begun, and how they operate? Have they obſerved, by what mournful concatenation of circumſtances, men of the greateſt prudence are ſometimes led beyond the bounds of moderation, and with what a terrible impulſe an intoxicated populace are hurried into exceſſes, of which the firſt idea would have ſhocked them?

de votre gloire ; renvoyez vos ſoldats aux poſtes d'où vos conſeillers les ont tirés ; renvoyez cette artillerie, deſtinée à couvrir vos frontières ; renvoyez ſurtout les troupes étrangeres, ces alliés de la nation, que nous payons pour défendre et non pour troubler nos foyers. Votre Majeſté n'en a pas beſoin : eh pourquoi un Monarque, adoré de vingt-cinq millions de François, feroit-il accourir à grands frais autour du trône quelques milliers d'etrangers? Sire, au milieu de vos enfans, ſoyez gardé par leur amour. Les Députés de la Nation ſont appellés à conſacrer avec vous les droits eminens de la royauté, ſur la baſe immuable de la liberté du peuple ; mais lorſqu'ils rempliſſent leur devoir, lorſqu'ils cedent à leur raiſon, à leurs ſentimens, les expoſeriez-vous au ſoupçon de n'avoir cédé qu'à la crainte?" &c.*

It

* Determined to reſiſt the arbitrary orders of thoſe who abuſe your name, becauſe they are the enemies of

It was known that an addreſs of this nature was to be moved, and ſeveral members were prepared to oppoſe it; but the

of law, our fidelity to your Majeſty exacts this reſiſtance, and we will always glory in deſerving the reproaches which our firmneſs draws upon us.

We conjure you, Sire, in the name of our native country, in the name of your own happineſs and glory, ſend your ſoldiers to the poſts from which your counſellors have drawn them; ſend back that artillery which was deſtined to defend the frontiers; above all, order back the foreign troops, thoſe allies of the nation whom we pay that they may defend, not overawe, the inhabitants. Your Majeſty has no need of ſuch auxiliaries. Why ſhould a Monarch, adored by five-and-twenty millions of Frenchmen, ſurround his throne at a great expence with ſome thouſand ſtrangers?

Sire, in the midſt of your children, your beſt guard is their affection. The Deputies of the Nation are called to conſecrate with you the eminent rights of royalty, on the immoveable baſis of public liberty; but while they are fulfilling this duty, while they are obeying the dictates of reaſon and of affection, would you expoſe them to the ſuſpicion that they were determined by fear only? &c.

impreſſion

impreſſion which Mirabeau's ſpeech made was ſo ſtrong, that it was evident that all oppoſition would be vain; they alſo dreaded leſt their oppoſition ſhould be imputed to fear.

It was obſerved by the Abbé Sieyes, that it was a maxim in the province of Britanny, that no troops ſhould be allowed to come nearer than ten leagues to the place in which the States-General were aſſembled; and it was propoſed by another Deputy to impeach the adviſers of this manœuvre, of ordering the troops ſo near to the Aſſembly, that the execration of their cotemporaries, added he, might anticipate that of poſterity. But, in the midſt of all this warmth, M. Biauzat obſerved, that it would be but decent to expunge one article from the addreſs propoſed by Mirabeau, namely, that of eſtabliſhing a guard of citizens, becauſe it was too much to arm the people at the very time when they addreſſed the King to diſarm himſelf. This was thought reaſonable, and M. Biauzat's

motion was adopted. The addreſs was ordered to be read a ſecond time, becauſe the frequent and loud burſts of applauſe prevented it from being diſtinctly and connectedly heard at the firſt reading. A deputation of 24 members, ſix from the two firſt orders, and twelve from the third, were appointed to carry it to the King. Among the latter was Mirabeau himſelf, with one who has become moſt notorious ſince, and who, from the circumſtance of being choſen for this deputation, it is probable, was in ſome degree diſtinguiſhed even at this period, namely Maximilien Roberſpierre.

The addreſs being carried by the deputation to the palace was read by M. Clermont-Tonnerre to the King, who in his anſwer declared, that the frequent diſorders in the capital were the ſole reaſon for his having called the troops around Paris, as it was an eſſential part of his duty to watch over the tran-

tranquillity of that city, to protect the citizens, and prevent new diſorders; that this meaſure, ſo far from putting any conſtraint on the debates of the Aſſembly, would free the members from all dread of tumults and diſorders. Nevertheleſs, if the preſence of the troops, ſo neceſſary in the neighbourhood of Paris, gave umbrage, he was willing at the requeſt of the Aſſembly to transfer the States-General to Noyon or Soiſſons; in which caſe he himſelf ſhould repair to Compeign, that he might maintain the requiſite intercourſe with the Aſſembly."

When the King's anſwer was read to the Aſſembly, it was applauded by ſome, and did not ſeem diſpleaſing to any. M. de Crillon ſaid, that as his Majeſty had given his word, that he had no other view in ordering the troops to advance but the protection of his own perſon and of the capital, the Aſſembly ought to reſt ſatisfied.

We

We have done our duty to the nation, he added, in requiring freedom to the Aſſembly; we ought next to manifeſt our duty to the King, by ſhewing we have confidence in his royal word.

This reaſoning of M. Crillon will not appear concluſive to all the world. None of the Deputies, however, ſeemed inclined to expreſs any want of confidence in the King's word until M. Mirabeau obſerved, that whatever reliance they might have on what the King had ſaid, they could have none on Miniſters, who were always ready to miſlead his good intentions; that the not attending ſufficiently to this diſtinction had often made the affectionate confidence which Frenchmen placed in their monarchs produce the effects of a vice rather than of a virtue, and had drawn the French nation, century after century, into much miſery; but he hoped that their eyes would now be opened, unleſs they were reſolved

to act for ever the part of children, and continue always mutinous and always ſlaviſh. He proceeded to ſhew them that the King's anſwer was a complete refuſal of their requeſt; that they had not petitioned to have the Aſſembly removed to any other place; but that the troops ſhould be ordered to remove from the neighbourhood of Paris and Verſailles; that if they were inclined to transfer their meetings elſewhere, Noyon or Soiſſons ought to be among the laſt places in which they ſhould wiſh to aſſemble, becauſe there they would be between the troops which inveſted Paris, and thoſe which might be ſuddenly drawn from Flanders and Alſace.

Although the Aſſembly were ſtruck with the force of Mirabeau's reaſoning, he did not prevail on them to renew the petition; and their moderation in this inſtance, which could only proceed from a ſentiment of reſpect to the King, makes the violent meaſures

ſures that were immediately taken by the Adminiſtration appear the more raſh and impolitic.

Secret Councils were held within the palace. The principal officers of the troops attended the King's levee every morning. Couriers were obſerved continually paſſing from Verſailles to the different detachments poſted at St. Cloud and Séves, and not unfrequently in the middle of the night. The King's life guards were in conſtant activity; thoſe who were not on guard within the palace were patrolling around it on horſeback; all the Swiſs guards were kept on duty near it; and cannon were placed facing the avenues.

Thoſe appearances were ſufficient of themſelves to have rouſed expectation in all, and to have created terror in ſome who were in ſituations to obſerve them. Various reports of myſterious import were alſo in circulation, and dark menacing expreſſions

were whiſpered as having fallen from perſons ſuppoſed to be in the ſecrets of the Cabinet. A ſtrong ſuſpicion exiſted among the Deputies, that ſome new plan was adopted; what it preciſely was they could not know, but they were pretty certain, that whatever danger there might be muſt depend on the troops, and for that reaſon the greateſt pains had been taken by the leaders of the popular party in the Aſſembly and their friends at Paris to gain them. They knew that they had already ſucceeded in a conſiderable degree with regard to the French foot guards; and they ſtrove, with their aſſiſtance and every other means in their power, to make the ſame impreſſion on the other regiments as they arrived. Parties of citizens of both ſexes were choſen to mix with the ſoldiers, and occaſionally to treat them with wine. On the 10th of July, a ſcene took place on the plain called the Elyſian Fields, adjacent to the gardens of the

the Tuileries, which, it is probable, ſtruck the Court ſo much as to accelerate the execution of their plan. A conſiderable number of cannoniers, of French guards, of dragoons of different regiments, were invited to an entertainment prepared in theſe fields at the expence of ſome citizens of Paris, and in the ſight of an immenſe crowd of ſpectators. The ſoldiers were plentifully feaſted, and a ſufficient quantity of wine was ſerved to increaſe their gaiety, without rendering them diſorderly. At eight in the evening the ſerjeants and corporals came in ſearch of the ſoldiers; they were invited to partake in the feaſt, and to drink ſucceſs to the Tiers-Etat; which they did, and returned in high good humour to their barracks, ſinging the praiſes of the citizens of Paris.

The account of this ſcene which was carried to Verſailles ſeems not only to have filled the King's new counſellors with alarm, but alſo to have deprived them of common

prudence. With no certainty of the obedience of the troops, with even conſiderable reaſon to doubt it, and an abſolute certainty of the ſeditious diſpoſition of the people, and of their enthuſiaſtic attachment to M. Necker, it was hardly to be conceived that the firſt ſtep the Council would take ſhould be the diſmiſſion of this favourite Miniſter. On the 11th of July, however, he received an order to leave the kingdom in twenty-four hours. Without acquainting any individual even of his own family with the order he had received, he ſet out the ſame evening; and it was not publicly known at Verſailles till the following day, when a new Adminiſtration was announced, at the head of which were the Marſhal Broglio and M. de Breteuil.

Although nothing could have been leſs expected than the diſmiſſion of M. Necker at this particular time, yet nothing was more probable than the general alarm and

indignation which it produced. Paris was filled with conſternation; the ſhops and theatres were immediately ſhut; the people crowded the ſtreets and ſquares; to increaſe the emotion and confuſion, the buſts of M. Necker and of the Duke of Orleans, who was reported to have alſo been ordered into exile, were paraded through the ſtreets covered with crape in mournful proceſſion. A party of dragoons were fooliſhly ordered to attack the attending multitude, and break the buſts. The Prince de Lambeſc was at the head of a body of cavalry on the Place of Lewis XV. Some ſtones were thrown; the cavalry made a charge on the crowd, and the Prince was ſaid to have wounded with his ſabre an old man in the Tuileries. The affrighted populace ruſhed from the garden into the ſtreets, crying *To arms!* the alarm bells were ſounded; the armourers' ſhops were broken open; every one armed himſelf as he could; many of the French

guards left their barracks to join the people; the cavalry that had been aſſembled to overawe them durſt not appear; bodies of armed men patrolled the ſtreets during the whole of this night of alarm, for the protection of the citizens. Some ruffians, however, under the ſame pretence committed acts of robbery and pillage; but not a twentieth part of the exceſſes took place that might have been expected at a time of ſuch univerſal conſternation.

On the following day it was propoſed, that a regular body of militia ſhould be immediately formed, as the beſt means of preventing a general pillage. This meaſure being approved, the execution was rendered eaſy by Paris having been divided into diſtricts, on account of the late election of Deputies for the States-General. Thoſe electors aſſembled at their reſpective ſections, claſſed the citizens, appointed commanders to each diviſion, moſt of them officers

officers retired from the ſervice, and a body of 48,000 men was formed that very day, which entirely relieved the inhabitants from the fear of pillage in the enſuing night, and greatly diminiſhed their apprehenſions from the regular troops which ſurrounded them*.

A deputation from the committee aſſembled in the Hotel de Ville was ſent to the National Aſſembly at Verſailles, acquainting them with the meaſures they had taken for reſtoring the public tranquillity. The Aſ-

* This circumſtance of the capital having been divided into diſtricts, and the electors in each aſcertained, had more influence on the revolution than is generally imagined; for, when any danger was dreaded, the electors were ordered to aſſemble at their reſpective diſtricts, who had all an intercourſe with each other; an army was inſtantly formed, and in ſome meaſure, according to their phraſe, organized. Whatever benefit may have ariſen from this on the preſent occaſion, it certainly had one baneful effect, namely, that of giving the department of Paris a controul over all the other departments.

ſembly petitioned the King with more earneſtneſs than ever to order the troops to be withdrawn, ſtating their preſence as the cauſe of all the inſurrections.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XII.

*Reflections on the Influence of public Opinion—on Government—King's Answer to the Assembly's Address occasions ill Humour—Formation of an armed Force by the Inhabitants of Paris—*30,000 *Muskets found at the Invalides—Bastille attacked and taken—Murder of M. de Launay and others—Deputations from the Assembly to the King—Scene at the Orangerie—Speech of Mirabeau—The King changes his Measures—comes to the National Assembly—A Deputation sent to Paris—Rejoicings—The King visits Paris—Reflections.*

IT is highly probable from the character of Lewis XVI. that he was inclined to the suppression of many abuses of the ancient government, and sincerely wished the happiness

happineſs of his ſubjects, even at the expence of a diminution of his own authority; but it was difficult to perſuade the nation, that ſuch were his wiſhes and intentions from the moment that it was believed he had been prevailed on to employ military force. Thoſe who perſuaded him to have recourſe to ſuch an expedient acted not only contrary to juſtice and prudence, but alſo contrary to the nature and diſpoſition of the Prince they pretended to ſerve; for the moſt ignorant of them muſt have known, that in the actual ſtate of France it was impoſſible to controul the National Aſſembly, to diſſolve them, and to re-eſtabliſh the ancient government by force, without ſo much bloodſhed as he would have thought infinitely too dear a purchaſe for the objects to be obtained. In prevailing on the too eaſy tempered Monarch to adopt this meaſure, therefore, it is plain, that like the generality of thoſe who affect to be in a peculiar

peculiar manner the friends of Kings, their own places and penſions, and offices which they ſaw in danger, were all they were anxious to preſerve, and for which they were willing to riſk all the horrors of war, and to ſacrifice the glory, happineſs, and even the life of the Prince to whom they profeſſed ſuch wonderful attachment.

Indeed it was evident, that the public opinion on the ſubject of government was ſo univerſally changed, and the minds of the people ſo heated with the idea of freedom, that double the military force that was ſufficient to maintain the ancient government could not re-eſtabliſh the ſame ſyſtem, nor ſuſtain it for any length of time in France, even if it could have been re-eſtabliſhed. It is not poſſible for a government to ſubſiſt long in any country where knowledge is pretty generally diffuſed, againſt the decided opinion and wiſhes

of

of a great majority of the inhabitants; and a great majority of ſuch inhabitants are ſeldom or never brought to be decidedly againſt their government unleſs it is oppreſſive. For, although it occaſionally happens that ignorant men, and thoſe who are needy from idleneſs, may be induced by the ambitious and deſigning to make a clamour againſt oppreſſions which they never felt, and for rights which they do not value, it is fortunate for the peace of ſociety, that *unfounded* clamours of this kind oftener end in the diſgrace or deſtruction of thoſe who make them, than of the government againſt which they are made: but when grievances are felt by the moſt induſtrious, and acknowledged by a great majority of the moſt intelligent to proceed from the vices of the government, *that* government cannot exiſt long in the preſent ſtate of men's minds all over Europe.

In Turkey, indeed, a very ſmall military eſta-

eſtabliſhment in proportion to the population of the country is adequate to the purpoſes of government, and to keep the people in ſlavery; becauſe they have no idea of any other kind of government but a deſpotic one. They are taught to believe, and in general they do believe, that it is the will of Heaven that the deſcendants or ſucceſſors of Mahomet ſhould reign with uncontrouled ſway over them; that it is their duty to ſubmit to his orders as to the decrees of Providence, however unaccountable or ſevere they may be; that reſiſtance would be impious and fruitleſs in both caſes, as in the one they would have the hoſt of Heaven againſt them, and in the other not only that, but alſo the Janiſſaries of the Sultan.

The ſame opinion prevails, and of courſe the ſame deſpotiſm exiſts, all over Aſia and Africa. The time was, when the right divine of Kings to govern wrong, the abſurd and impious doctrine, that the crown is held

held by divine, hereditary, and indefeaſible right, was taught with ſucceſs in Europe. That doctrine was exploded in England; and the conſequence was the admirable conſtitution eſtabliſhed in the year 1688, which every Briton has ſo much reaſon to bleſs and maintain.

The immenſe armies which a jealouſy of the neighbouring powers renders neceſſary to be conſtantly kept up by ſome nations of Europe, are not the only cauſe of the arbitrary nature of their governments. The peaſants and a very large proportion of the other inhabitants of Ruſſia and a great part of Germany never knew freedom, have no ideas on government, and are rather pleaſed with the ſupreme and unlimited power of their Sovereign, becauſe it is from that alone they expect relief from the more intolerable oppreſſion of their immediate lords. But give the majority of the inhabitants of Ruſſia and Germany the ſame opinions

that

that prevail in Great Britain; and an annihilation of the oppreſſion of the Lords, with a limitation of the Sovereign's power, would follow in ſpite of the efforts, but more probably with the concurrence, of the armies.

Ignorance and impoſture have been the chief and laſting ſupports of every deſpotic government. When ignorance is removed from any country, impoſture and abuſes muſt fly alſo; and although ſtanding armies may continue to be the defenders, they will refuſe to be the enſlavers of their country*.

However

* This is believed and dreaded by many whoſe importance and wealth ariſe from the oppreſſive privileges granted in the days of ignorance, and by thoſe who fatten on abuſes and in the enjoyment of ſinecure offices. They wiſh every abuſe to remain ſacred and untouched, and fear nothing ſo much as the diffuſion of knowledge. They conſider the exerciſe of reaſon as a curſe to the lower claſſes of ſociety, aſſert that ignorance is the greateſt bleſſing that can befal them, and execrate phi-

However extraordinary it may appear, many circumſtances evince, that, at the time when M. Necker was diſmiſſed, the Court of Verſailles had no idea of the very critical ſtate in which things were. The night of the 12th, which had ſpread ſuch general terror at Paris, was ſpent by the courtiers at Verſailles in dancing and revelry. The King's anſwer to this new addreſs from the

loſophy and philoſophers as the diſturbers of the peace of mankind. In ſupport of theſe aſſertions, they quote the crimes of thoſe monſters of wickedneſs who have diſgraced the French Revolution and the cauſe of Freedom. The queſtion ſimply is, Whether it be expedient or not that rational creatures ſhould improve and exerciſe their reaſon? If that is anſwered in the affirmative, it is to no purpoſe to ſay that ſome men uſe their reaſoning powers to ill purpoſes: by the ſame train of reaſoning they might endeavour to prove, that lamps and candles, and all the inventions by which men have contrived to obtain light and diſſipate darkneſs, are pernicious to ſociety, becauſe houſe-breakers and murderers make uſe of dark lanterns.

National

National Aſſembly ſufficiently ſhewed the ſmall impreſſion it had made. It imported, "that he was the proper judge how to employ his troops, and where to place them; that, although ſome cities could maintain tranquillity within their walls by their own municipal force, the immenſe population of Paris rendered it impracticable there."

The Aſſembly were at no pains to conceal their ill humour at this anſwer. They decreed, that M. Necker, and the other Miniſters who had been diſmiſſed, retained the eſteem and confidence of the Aſſembly; that they conſidered the new Miniſters as reſponſible for the diſaſters that might attend the preſent meaſures, particularly that of adviſing the King not to ſend the troops away from Paris and Verſailles, which the Aſſembly perſiſted in requeſting; finally, they put the public debt under the ſafeguard of the national honour, and ordered theſe reſolutions to be preſented to the King

by the Preſident, and with their former decrees to be printed, for the information of the public. The Aſſembly continued ſitting all the night.

The accounts of the King's anſwer, and the ſubſequent decrees and conduct of the Aſſembly, arrived at Paris on the morning of the 13th, when the inhabitants had juſt learned, that the regiments encamped in the Elyſian Fields had moved from thence, without the motive of their removal or the place to which they had gone being known. The moſt diſmal apprehenſions of an impending attack were conceived; rage and indignation augmented; the committee of electors in the Hotel de Ville redoubled their zeal for enrolling men and forming new batallions; what muſkets could be found were diſtributed among thoſe who had been firſt regimented; all the workmen were employed in making pikes and ſuch arms as could be ſooneſt formed, and were

moſt ſuitable to undiſciplined troops; the ſtreets in ſome parts were unpaved in expectation of a bombardment; the women carried quantities of ſtones to the upper ſtories, with the deſign of throwing them on the enemy as they marched through the ſtreet beneath; and the cries of vigilance and alarm reſounded at intervals all the night in every quarter of the town, which was partially and dimly illuminated, ſo as to render the general gloom more ſtriking.

The ſteadineſs and addreſs ſhewn in ſo ſuddenly forming into ſome degree of regularity and ſubordination ſo large a body of men, in a capital ſo licentious as Paris, and this by no eſtabliſhed authority, but entirely by a committee choſen by the electors, forms a ſtrong contraſt with the negligence and want of foreſight of the Cabinet at Verſailles. After the bold meaſures of diſmiſſing a moſt popular miniſter, forming a new adminiſtration of men diſliked by the

people, and rejecting the earneſt and repeated petition of the National Aſſembly, it was naturally to be expected that ſome means would have been uſed to prevent inſurrections in the capital, where there was ſo much reaſon to think they would take place, and to ſuppreſs or render them abortive in caſe they ſhould. It was natural to expect, that the Baſtile would have been provided and ſtrengthened, and that a place of ſo much importance as the Hoſpital of Invalides would have been ſecured by a large detachment from the troops cantoned around Paris. None of theſe obvious meaſures were thought of.

On the 14th the Hoſpital of Invalides was forced, and 30,000 muſkets found, which, with a variety of weapons diſcovered the ſame day at the Garde-Meuble, were diſtributed among the people, who being elevated by this ſucceſs, hurried in crowds from the Invalides to the Baſtile, in the reſolution

reſolution to aſſault and deſtroy that deteſted fortreſs. Some ſquadrons of dragoons had been obſerved that morning near the entrance of the ſuburbs of St. Antoine; and it was noticed at the ſame time that, contrary to cuſtom, the cannon of the Baſtile were pointed towards the principal ſtreet of the ſame quarter. A meſſage had been ſent by the committee at the Townhouſe to M. de Launay, the Governor, to remonſtrate with him on this menacing appearance. It was while this was in agitation, that the Hoſpital of Invalides had been forced, and the arms ſeized, which had determined the people to exact that the Baſtile ſhould be delivered up to them alſo. That fortreſs was ſoon blockaded by the multitude: a deputation was ſent from one diſtrict of Paris to make propoſals to the Governor; the Deputy was attended by a promiſcuous crowd, which, while he was conducted to the Governor, were left in an

outer court. This parley having proved ineffectual, the Deputy retired; but at the ſame moment ſome of thoſe in the outer court having advanced beyond the preſcribed limits, and ſtill continuing to advance, were checked by a fire from the garriſon, which killed and wounded ſeveral.'

It is probable that this happened through miſtake on the one ſide or the other; but, if there was deſign, it ſeems moſt likely that it was on the part of the people, in attempting to ſurpriſe the garriſon. The ſtory which was ſpread, and generally believed at the time, of the Governor's having allured them within the court, with a deſign to maſſacre them, is improbable and almoſt abſurd. He muſt have perceived, that ſuch an open piece of treachery would end in his own deſtruction; he muſt have known that at all events he would be obliged to ſurrender ſoon; for, independent of many other neceſſaries, he was in want of

proviſions; and after ſuch perfidious conduct, nothing could have ſaved him from the rage of the people. Whatever occaſioned the firſt firing of the garriſon upon the people, its immediate effect was to ſwell their rage into madneſs. Propoſals of capitulation and indications of a diſpoſition to ſurrender were no longer regarded. The fortreſs was aſſaulted with impetuoſity, and defended feebly. However zealous the Governor may have been, he could not inſpire the garriſon with the ſame ardour. After many proofs of the moſt daring intrepidity by thoſe who headed the aſſault, the fortreſs was carried. Thoſe who had the merit of the exploit ſaved M. de Launay from being immediately torn in pieces by the multitude which poured in from all quarters, and conducted him with difficulty and danger to the Hotel de Ville, but were unable to prevent his being maſſacred by the cowardly rabble which ſurrounded it, and who had

no

no part in the taking of the Baſtile. M. de Loſme, his Major, a perſon diſtinguiſhed for his humanity to the priſoners, was at the ſame time a victim to the undiſtinguiſhing fury of thoſe wretches. Their thirſt of blood was ſo great, that although the Marquis de Pilleport, who had been confined five years in the Baſtile, ruſhed among them and proclaimed the humanity of M. de Loſme to himſelf and other priſoners, he was not liſtened to, but inſulted, wounded, and eſcaped not without difficulty, with his life. M. de Fleſſelles, the Prevôt des Marchands, of a character leſs popular, but who ſeems to have been guilty of nothing which candour could have thought a proof of guilt, incurred the ſame fate, and the heads of all three being fixed upon pikes were carried in triumph through the ſtreets.

To this ſhocking practice, begun in a moment of phrenſy, is owing perhaps that taſte for bloody exhibitions, which the

Pariſian

Pariſian populace are accuſed of poſſeſſing to ſuch a degree. Even if the death of the perſons were juſt, to gratify the multitude with the ſpectacle of carrying their heads on pikes is moſt injudicious; for it perverts the public mind, and has a tendency to create a taſte for cruelty where it does not exiſt, and to cultivate and cheriſh it where it does?

Rumours of the enemy's approach became more frequent as the night advanced, and towards midnight it was aſſerted that they were juſt at hand. This induced a numerous body of the inhabitants to drag ſome cannon to the barrier *d'Enfer*; for as in the opinion of the multitude the enemy's great auxiliary lay in that quarter, it was univerſally agreed the attack would be made from thence. When the citizens arrived with their cannon, however, it was ſo dark that no enemy could be ſeen; and they made ſuch a noiſe and clamour, that he could

could not have been heard, however near he might have been. To make ſure in all events, however, they diſcharged their artillery and muſkets, and then returned in triumph with the comfortable news to their fellow citizens, that the aſſailants were entirely defeated and diſperſed.

That there was no account of the loſs on the part of the enemy in this engagement is not wonderful; but, conſidering the darkneſs of the night, with the confuſion and inexperience of the Pariſian army, it is a little ſurpriſing that no mention was made of any killed or wounded among them by their own fire in this action.

The National Aſſembly continued ſitting from the 13th to the 15th. They had ſent two new deputations to the King, on the old ſubject of ordering the forces to be removed. To the firſt the King anſwered, that he was doing all in his power for the re-eſta-

bliſhment

bliſhment of public tranquillity, and with that view had ordered certain general officers to put themſelves at the head of the citizens who had taken arms at Paris.

This was thought evaſive and unſatisfactory. A new deputation, at the head of which was the Archbiſhop of Paris, was almoſt inſtantly ſent with the ſame requeſt, founded on the confuſions and alarms in the capital. To this the King replied, "You tear my heart more and more by the recital of the ſcenes at Paris. It is impoſſible that the orders I have given the troops can be the cauſe. I have no alteration to make to the anſwer I ſo lately gave you."

If the imprudence of thoſe who directed the councils of Lewis XVI. was evident at the time when the States-General firſt aſſembled, as was attempted to be ſhewn, it muſt be admitted that his new counſellors ſeem in the preſent inſtance to have improved upon the imprudence of the old.

After

After it had been found impoſſible to reſiſt the aſſembling of the States-General; after a double repreſentation had been granted to the Tiers-Etat; after the voting by orders had been rejected, and the three orders had been melted down into one National Aſſembly; after a numerous body of men had been formed into regiments and occupied the capital; and after the troops of the line had betrayed ſymptoms of defection;—to adviſe the King to give ſuch an anſwer was fooliſh in the extreme, and expoſing his authority to contempt and deriſion.

It was no doubt expected by thoſe who had prevailed on the King to give this anſwer, that the army was ready to obey whatever orders they ſhould receive from the Duke of Broglio and the other officers attached to the Court; but to what extreme neglect muſt it have been owing, that a circumſtance of this importance was not aſcertained before the King was adviſed to act

and

and ſpeak in this manner; and if the army *had* been ready to obey, when the citizens were prepared to reſiſt, what ſcenes of bloodſhed and ſlaughter muſt have been the conſequence!—Scenes ſo revolting to the diſpoſition of Lewis XVI. that he could not have perſevered in countenancing them, even although he had thought them the only means of ſecuring his crown.

Thoſe therefore who are of opinion that ſuch counſel would have been politic and wiſe to a prince of a different character, will ſtill think it was injudiciouſly given to one who, although he might be prevailed on to adopt it through perſuaſion, was ſure to relinquiſh it from principle and feeling, before it could produce the deſired effect.

On the morning of the 15th it was decreed that another deputation ſhould be ſent to the King, with a remonſtrance conceived in ſtronger terms than any of the preceding. The following ſentiment was much applaud-

ed: *The French adore their King, but they are no longer inclined to be under the neceſſity of fearing him.*

An incident of the preceding day had given much offence. Among the troops cantoned in Verſailles, a regiment of German huſſars were encamped in the Orangerie of the Palace. The Queen, M. d'Artois, Madame de Polignac, and other perſons of both ſexes belonging to the court, had thought proper to walk into the Orangerie at this time, and were no doubt received by the troops with every demonſtration of joy. Theſe circumſtances Mirabeau thought were of ſufficient importance to be communicated to the King by the deputation. With all the exaggerations of eloquence, he deſired them to inform his Majeſty, " Que les hordes étrangères dont nous ſommes inveſtis ont reçu hier la viſite des princes, des princeſſes, des favoris, des favorites, et leurs careſſes, et leurs exhortations, et leurs préſens.

préſens. Dites-lui, que toute la nuit les ſatellites étrangers, gorgés d'or et de vin, ont prédit dans leurs chants impies l'aſſerviſſement de la France, et que leurs vœux brutaux invoquoient la deſtruction de l'Aſſemblée Nationale. Dites-lui, que, dans ſon palais même, les courtiſans ont mêlé leur danſes au ſon de cette muſique barbare, et que telle fut l'avant ſcene de la St. Barthelemy*."

As this deputation were about to go out of the hall, they were prevented by the en-

* The bands of foreign troops by which we are ſurrounded were viſited yeſterday by the princes, the princeſſes, the favourites male and female of the Court, and were careſſed by them, received preſents from them, and were exhorted by them to perſeverance. Tell the King, that thoſe favoured mercenaries, inflamed with wine, predicted in their impious ſongs the ſubjugation of France, and with brutal fury invoked the deſtruction of the National Aſſembly. Tell him, that even in his palace the courtiers danced to that barbarous muſic; and remind him that ſcenes of the ſame nature were the harbingers of St. Bartholomew.

trance of the Duke of Liancourt. That nobleman had in the middle of the preceding night obtained an audience of his Majeſty, and made ſuch a repreſentation of the ſtate of Paris, and the dangers with which the Royal Family were threatened if a change of meaſures was not immediately adopted, as determined the King to order the troops to be withdrawn; and the Duke at the ſame time announced his Majeſty's gracious intention of coming in perſon to the Aſſembly to give them this aſſurance.

The immediate effect of this news was a ſhout of joy. This natural demonſtration of grateful ſenſibility was checked by one Deputy, whoſe conduct, it is probable, was more under the influence of a cool head than a warm heart. He obſerved that "ſuch demonſtrations of ſatisfaction formed a revolting contraſt with the calamities which the people had already undergone; that to receive the King with ſevere and

ſerious

ſerious reſpect was more ſuitable to the ſad poſture of affairs; that the ſilence of the People often proved an uſeful leſſon to Kings."

The diſcourſe of this philoſopher produced a temporary ſuppreſſion of feeling and an affectation of formality. The King was received with the moſt profound ſilence, although the Deputies muſt have been ſtruck at ſeeing him appear in a ſtyle ſo different from that in which they had been accuſtomed to view him, without pomp, almoſt without attendants, and in the plaineſt dreſs. Standing and uncovered, he addreſſed them in the moſt conciliatory terms, profeſſing his ſorrow for the diſorders at Paris, his regard for the Aſſembly, and aſſuring them that the reports of any deſign on their perſonal liberty were calumnious. He ended by declaring that he had ordered the troops to remove from the neighbourhood of the capital.

This diſcourſe was not heard to an end

without interruption. The emotion it produced was too powerful for the ſtern maxims above mentioned. Feeling overcame philoſophy, and the hall reſounded with ſhouts of applauſe.

When the King withdrew, all the Deputies (for this Aſſembly was not compoſed of ſuch callous materials as the ſucceeding ones) —all the Deputies followed, and forming a reſpectful ring around his perſon attended him to the palace, in the balcony of which the Queen appeared with the Dauphin in her arms, whom ſhe preſented to the applauding multitude. An account of this agreeable alteration of affairs was ſent to Paris. The Committee of Electors were permanently ſitting in the Town-hall, forming the different corps of militia, and naming the officers. Having armed them in the beſt manner the preſent circumſtances would permit, they gave them the name of National Guards, and appointed M. de la Fayette

their commander. M. Bailly was at the ſame time choſen Mayor of Paris, under which appellation he exerciſed the ſame functions that were formerly exerciſed under the title of Prévôt des Marchands, which was aboliſhed.

A deputation of eighty-four of the moſt diſtinguiſhed members of the National Aſſembly followed the accounts of the late events at Verſailles to the metropolis. This deputation was met by the whole of the Pariſian militia. The Deputies, having come out of their carriages at the Barriere, were conducted to the Hotel de Ville, amidſt the acclamations of the citizens of both ſexes, who, in the ſtreets, from the windows and the tops of houſes, hailed them as the ſaviours of their country.

The Dukes of Rochefoucault and Liancourt, M. Clermont-Tonnerre, Lally-Tolendal, and others, the moſt eminent members of this deputation, addreſſed the Com-

mittee in the Hotel de Ville in particular diſcourſes, the tendency of which was to conciliate the minds of the citizens to the King, to place his late conduct in the leaſt unfavourable point of view, and to aſſure them that his wiſhes were for the happineſs of the people. " Your good King," ſaid M. de Lally, " has been deluded by calumny; ſuſpicions were inſtilled into his mind of that nation which he has the honour and happineſs of governing: but we have unveiled the truth before his eyes; he is ſenſible of having been deceived; he has thrown himſelf into the arms of your National Aſſembly; he puts his truſt in them, or rather in you, and will henceforth be guided by their counſels, that is, by yours.

From the Hotel de Ville the Deputies were conducted to the church of Nôtre-Dame, where Te Deum was performed, in gratitude to the Supreme Being for the happy agreement between the King and the National

National Repreſentatives, and for the public proſperity which was expected to be the conſequence.

The manifeſtations of joy were ſo univerſal, and their expreſſions of attachment to the King ſo warm, that a ſtranger who had entered Paris at that time would have thought it the moſt loyal town in Europe. For the eagerneſs with which the populace of all countries ſeize every event which fortuitouſly occurs, or is deſignedly held forth to them, as a cauſe of rejoicing, is often miſtaken for a proof of their genuine ſatisfaction in that event. It ſhould be remembered, however, that the multitude love noiſe and riot and acclamation and illumination, independent of any ſatisfaction in the event, or any love or regard for the General or Admiral, or popular Leader or Monarch, who ſerves as a pretext for their indulging their favourite paſſion. This ſeems to be common to the populace of all countries: what

diſtinguiſhes that of France is the wonderful rapidity with which they fly from the extremes of love to thoſe of hatred, and from admiration to contempt, which makes them cry *Vive le Roi!* one day, with the ſame ſincerity that they cry *Vive Petion!* another; and they accompany Egalité to the ſcaffold with as much exultation as they had before ſhewn in parading the buſts of Orleans through the ſtreets.

There is every reaſon to believe, that MM. Cazales, Mounier, Malouet, as well as the members of this deputation before mentioned, and others, had no other view in aſſiſting in the Revolution than that of eſtabliſhing monarchy on the baſis of freedom, as the happieſt government for their country. Such men of courſe muſt have felt ſatisfaction in obſerving the indications of returning royalty in the people; but there exiſted in the Aſſembly and in the Municipality of Paris men, at this time of no

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note, but who afterwards acted important parts, who viewed with an evil eye every indication of the nature above alluded to; becauſe they feared that a return of confidence in the King would tend to the diminiſhing, perhaps the annihilation, of their own riſing importance. The immenſe influence of the capital with the Aſſembly probably firſt became apparent to them at this time, and was the ground work of the ſtructure of ambition they afterwards built. Thoſe men, therefore, were active in ſowing new ſeeds of ſuſpicion in the minds of the people; they whiſpered that, notwithſtanding the King's fair profeſſions, freſh troops were on their march to Paris; and they trumped up a ſtory, that an attempt had been made to ſeize again upon the Baſtile for the uſe of the King. They employed agents to excite the people to clamour for the recall of M. Necker, and ſucceeded ſo effectually that a deputation was ſent on the 16th of July from

Paris

Paris to Verſailles, the object of which was, that the Aſſembly ſhould inſiſt on the diſmiſſion of the preſent Miniſters and the recall of M. Necker.

A motion was made accordingly to that effect. In the debate which this occaſioned, M. Mounier gave it as his opinion, that the National Aſſembly ought not to interfere in ſuch appointments of the executive power, and produced the example of the Parliament of Great Britain, which he aſſerted had never interfered in the choice of the King's Miniſters without the moſt ruinous conſequences.

The reply which Mirabeau made to this argument is ſo remarkable, that I ſhall inſert the following extract from his ſpeech; " S'il eſt une maxime impie et deteſtable, ce ſeroit celle qui interdiroit à l'Aſſemblée Nationale de declarer au Monarque que ſon peuple n'a point de confiance dans ſes Miniſtres. Cette opinion attaque à la fois et

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la nature des choſes, et les droits eſſentiels du Peuple, et la loi de la reſponſabilité des Miniſtres.

" Eh ! comment nous refuſeriez-vous ce ſimple droit de declaration, vous qui nous accordez celui de les accuſer, de les pourſuivre, et de créer le tribunal qui devra punir ces artiſans d'iniquités, dont, par une contradiction palpable, vous nous propoſez de contempler les œuvres dans un reſpectueux ſilence? Ne voyez-vous donc pas combien je fais aux Miniſtres un meilleur ſort que vous, combien je ſuis plus modéré? Vous n'admettez aucun intervalle entre un morne ſilence et une dénonciation ſanguinaire. Se taire ou punir, obeir ou frapper, voila votre ſyſtême ! Et moi, j'avertis avant de dénoncer ; je récuſe avant de flétrir ; j'offre une retraite à l'inconſideration ou à l'incapacité avant de les traiter de crimes. Qui de nous a plus de meſure et d'equité ?

" Mais voyez la Grande-Bretagne ! Que d'agi-

d'agitation populaire n'y occaſionne pas ce droit que vous reclamez! *C'eſt lui qui a perdu l'Angleterre*, dites vous—L'Angleterre eſt perdue! Ah, Grand Dieu! quelle ſiniſtre nouvelle! Eh! par quelle latitude s'eſt-elle donc perdue? Ou quel tremblement de terre, quelle convulſion de la natu[illegible] a englouti cette île fameuſe, cet inépuiſable foyer de ſi grands exemples, cette terre claſſique des amis de la liberté? Mais vous me raſſurez: l'Angleterre fleurit encore pour l'eternelle inſtruction du monde; l'Angleterre répare dans un glorieux ſilence les plaies qu'au milieu d'une fiévre ardente elle s'eſt faites! L'Angleterre developpe tous les genres d'induſtrie, exploite tous les ſilons de la proſpérité humaine, et tout-à-l'heure encore elle vient de remplir une grande lacune de ſa conſtitution avec toute la vigueur de la plus énergique jeuneſſe, et l'impoſante maturité d'un peuple vieilli dans les affaires publiques. Vous ne penſiez donc qu'à

quelques

quelques diſſenſions parlementaires (là comme ailleurs ce n'eſt ſouvent que du parlage qui n'a d'autre importance que l'intérêt de la loquacité);—ou plutôt c'eſt apparemment la dernière diſſolution du Parlement qui vous effraye?

" Qu'eſt-il arrivé, en effet, dans cette circonſtance rare, où le Roi d'Angleterre, étayé d'une très-foible minorité, n'a pas craint de combattre la formidable Aſſemblée Nationale et de la diſſoudre? Soudain l'edifice phantaſtique d'une oppoſition coloſſale s'eſt écroulé ſur ſes frêles fondemens, ſur cette coalition cupide et factieuſe, qui ſembloit menacer de tout envahir. Eh! quelle eſt la cauſe d'un changement ſi ſubit? C'eſt que le Peuple etoit de l'avis du Roi, et non de celui du Parlement. Le chef de la nation dompta l'ariſtocratie legiſlative par un ſimple appel au Peuple—à ce Peuple qui n'a jamais qu'un interêt, parce que le bien public eſt eſſentiellement le ſien. Ses Repréſentans, revêtus d'une

d'une inviſible puiſſance, et preſque d'une veritable dictature, quand ils ſont les organes de la volonté générale, ne ſont que des pigmées impuiſſans, s'ils oſent ſubſtituer à leur miſſion ſacrée des vues intereſſées ou des paſſions particulières*

* If there ever was an impious and deteſtable maxim, it would be that which precluded the National Aſſembly from declaring to the King, that his people placed no confidence in his Miniſters. Such an opinion attacks at once the nature of things, the eſſential rights of the people, and the reſponſibility of Miniſters.

But how can you refuſe the ſimple right of ſuch a declaration, after granting to us the right of accuſing and proſecuting, and even of creating a tribunal for puniſhing thoſe workers of iniquity, whoſe crimes, by a manifeſt contradiction, you deſire us to contemplate in reſpectful ſilence? Do you not perceive then that I am more indulgent and moderate to the Miniſters than you? You admit no interval between a gloomy ſilence and a ſanguinary accuſation: to be ſilent or to puniſh, to obey or to ſtrike, that is your ſyſtem. As for me, I am for warning previous to accuſing; I object before I diſ-

It was carried, that an addreſs ſhould be preſented to the King, expreſſive of the wiſhes

honour; I offer a retreat to inconſiderateneſs or incapacity before I treat them as crimes. Which of us has moſt moderation and equity?

But we are deſired to look at Great Britain. What diſorders are produced there by this right which we wiſh to eſtabliſh in France! That right has ruined England——England is ruined, you ſay: ah! Great God! What dreadful news! Where, or by what means is England deſtroyed? By what earthquake or convulſion of nature has that famous iſland been ſwallowed up? That abounding theatre of great actions, that claſſic ground of liberty. But you remove my fears: England ſtill flouriſhes for the eternal inſtruction of the world; England in a glorious tranquillity heals the wounds ſhe had given herſelf during the delirium of a fever! England developes every ſpecies of induſtry, traces every ſource of human proſperity, and very lately ſhe has filled up a great gap in her Conſtitution with all the vigour and energy of youth, and all the maturity of a people long verſed in politics. What—you only alluded to certain debates in Parliament, which there, as elſewhere, often ariſe from nothing but the mere

pleaſure

wiſhes of the Aſſembly, that he would diſmiſs his preſent Miniſters. This was rendered ſuperfluous, by the reſignation of the new Miniſters; and it was announced to the

pleaſure of ſpeaking; or rather, perhaps, it is the laſt diſſolution of Parliament which frightens you.

What happened in effect on that extraordinary occaſion, when the King of England, ſupported by a feeble minority, was not afraid to reſiſt that formidable National Aſſembly, and to diſſolve it. Inſtantly the fantaſtic edifice of a coloſſal oppoſition was ſhaken from its feeble foundation, and that greedy and factious coalition, which threatened to carry all before it was cruſhed. And what was the cauſe of ſo ſudden a change? Becauſe the People were of the King's opinion, and not of that of the Parliament. The head of the nation overcame that legiſlative ariſtocracy by a ſimple appeal to the People—that People who never can have but one intereſt, becauſe the public good is eſſentially theirs. Thoſe repreſentatives, clothed with inviſible, almoſt with dictatorial power, when they are the organs of the general will, are only a ſet of impotent pigmies, when they dare to ſubſtitute their own private intereſt and paſſions in the place of the true object of their ſacred miſſion.

Aſſembly

Aſſembly at the ſame time that the King had written to M. Necker, inviting him to return.

The ſame deputation from the Electors at Paris to the National Aſſembly at Verſailles, which had brought the requeſt of the former to addreſs the King on thoſe ſubjects, conveyed alſo their opinion that a perſonal viſit of the King to his faithful ſubjects in the capital would be highly acceptable, and perhaps the moſt expedient ſtep he could poſſibly take in the preſent circumſtances. This was no part of their public miſſion, but inſinuated to the Deputies as their private ſentiments, founded on the ſuſpicions which ſtill remained on the minds of the citizens of intended maſſacres, and which this mark of confidence from their Monarch would tend to efface.

When this was mentioned to the King, he reſolved upon the meaſure, notwithſtanding the conſternation which it ſpread over

his family, and the apprehenſions which he himſelf entertained for his own life. The news of this reſolution was ſent to Paris in the middle of the night.

The King left Verſailles on the morning of the 17th of July, with only one carriage beſides that in which he was himſelf. He was attended by the Dukes of Villeroy and Vilquier, the Marſhal Beauveau, the Count d'Eſtaing, and one or two other perſons of the Court. The militia of Verſailles accompanied the carriages to Séve, where they were met by M. La Fayette, at the head of a large body of National Guards; a party of cavalry headed the proceſſion from Séve, followed by the French Guards with their cannon; a deputation of the National Aſſembly in their robes alſo attended, and were followed by the Pariſian National Guards. The proceſſion was ſlow, and to the King would be the more gloomy that he no more heard the ancient cry of *Vive*

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le Roi! whereas that of *Vive la Nation !* was inceſſantly ſcreamed from all ſides. That this did not happen by accident was evident; for men were heard admoniſhing the people, *Ne criez pas Vive le Roi.* There are many reaſons for believing that the King's journey to Paris and his reception there were planned by a few who had influence in the Committee at Paris as well as in the Aſſembly, with a view to ſtrike him with terror, and bend his ſpirit to an acquieſcence in their future projects. It is not therefore ſurpriſing that he looked pale, melancholy, and with diſquietude. He was met at the barrier by the Mayor, who preſenting him with the keys of the city informed him that they were the identical keys which had been preſented to Henry IV. obſerving at the ſame time, in language more quaint than flattering, that Henry had *re-conquered* his People, whereas in the preſent inſtance the People had *re-con-*

quered their King. He told the King alſo, what he might otherwiſe not have believed, that this was a very glorious day for the French Monarchy; and added, what might have occurred to him without being told, that it was a day which it was not likely his Majeſty would ever forget.—Whatever the King's thoughts were, he ſaid nothing.

Finding himſelf equally embarraſſed to anſwer all the fine ſpeeches which were addreſſed to him on his arrival at the Hotel de Ville, his Majeſty obſerved nearly the ſame ſilence there.

Indeed it was impoſſible for him to aſſent to all that was expreſſed or implied in the different harangues on this occaſion. In one, the truth of the bloody deſigns againſt the city of Paris, of which the Court was accuſed, was ſtrongly inſinuated; in another, it was propoſed to raiſe a monument to Lewis XVI. as the overthrower of the Baſtile, and the reſtorer of Liberty.

M. de

M. de Lally-Tolendal, who certainly was not of the number of thoſe ſaid to have planned the King's viſit to Paris for the purpoſe above mentioned, expreſſed himſelf in language dictated equally by the ſpirit of loyalty and of freedom; obſerving "that the King himſelf was deſirous that the Repreſentatives of the Nation ſhould ſhare with him his authority, as he wiſhed to reſerve in his own hands no more than was neceſſary for the happineſs of the People, and which their intereſt required ſhould always belong to the Crown." And afterwards addreſſing the King, he ſaid, "Il n'eſt pas ici un ſeul homme qui ne ſoit prêt à verſer pour vous, *pour votre autorité légitime*, juſqu'à la dernière goutte de ſon ſang*."

Unfortunately for the French nation, as

* There is not a ſingle perſon here preſent, who is not ready to ſhed, for your Majeſty and your legal authority, the very laſt drop of his blood.

well as for the Monarch, ſucceeding events have not confirmed what an ardent deſire that it were the caſe prompted M. de Lally to aſſert.

M. Bailſy, the Mayor, having preſented the national cockade to the King, who appeared at the window with it attached to his hat, the populace in the ſquare ſhouted; —the cry of *Vive le Roi!* was then heard for the firſt time that day, and reſounded through the ſtreets as the King returned from the Town-houſe to Verſailles, where he was expected with fearful inquietude by the Queen and all his family.

The joy which the Pariſians manifeſted after the King appeared with the national cockade, and their behaviour when he departed from Paris, have been thus deſcribed: "Le départ du Roi fut un vrai triomphe. Les Pariſiens étoient ivres de leur amour pour lui; ſa voiture étoit entourée de citoyens de toutes les claſſes; les uns étoient derrière la carroſſe,

carroſſe, ceux-ci à la portière, d'autres ſur le ſiége du cocher; il y en avoit juſques ſur l'impériale *."

If the Pariſians were intoxicated with love at this particular time, it muſt be acknowledged that they were intoxicated with rage ſoon after; for it ſeems to be in their nature to be always intoxicated with ſomething or other.

The members of the new Adminiſtration which had been ſo ſuddenly and imprudently formed, ſenſible of the quick tranſitions to which the French populace are liable, and by no means certain that they would be ſatisfied with their reſignation, reſolved to withdraw from the kingdom. The Count

* The Pariſians were quite intoxicated with love for the King. His coach was ſurrounded with citizens of all claſſes; ſome were mounted behind the coach; ſome before and ſome on the coach box; there were even a few on the very top.

d'Artois with his family, the Princes of Condé and of Conti, with many of the Nobility, did the ſame.

M. Foulon, who in the formation of the late Miniſtry had been placed in the War Department as an aſſiſtant to M. de Broglio, was not ſo fortunate as to eſcape out of France. Senſible of the people's prejudice againſt him, he kept himſelf concealed, and cauſed the report of his death to be ſpread abroad. He was diſcovered by the peaſants while he was under hiding at a country-houſe near Paris. Some of the enemies of this unhappy man had circulated the incredible ſtory, that he had often declared, that, if he ſhould ever be Miniſter, he would make the people live on hay. The ſureſt way of gaining the belief of the populace is to ſpeak to their paſſions. This abſurd expreſſion was repeated by every mouth; and it kindled the more reſentment in the breaſts

breaſts of the rabble at this time, becauſe many of them actually experienced hunger from the exiſting ſcarcity.

The cruelties which thoſe peaſants, and ſome of the populace of Paris, committed on M. Foulon and his ſon-in-law M. Berthier, in ſpite of all the efforts of the Mayor of Paris and the Commander of the National Guards to prevent them, are ſhocking to humanity, and diſguſting to narrate.

M. de Fleſſelles, at that time the chief Magiſtrate of Paris, was aſſaſſinated as he retired acroſs the ſquare from the Hotel de Ville. This murder was in conſequence of a letter from him ſaid to have been found in the pocket of De Launay. As the original letter never was produced, the report was probably a calumny invented by ſome enemy to deſtroy the man. For, at this period of anarchy, the credulity of the Pariſians in giving belief to every calumny

however

however abſurd, could only be equalled by their cruelty.

It was with difficulty that the wretched Invalides, who had been brought priſoners from the Baſtile to the Town-houſe, were ſaved from the fury of the rabble, who wiſhed to maſſacre them in cold blood in the ſquare. They owed their preſervation to the French foot guards, to whom the reduction of the Baſtile was chiefly owing, and to M. Elie who led them on. Thoſe brave men could not bear that their victory ſhould be diſgraced by ſuch an act of cowardly cruelty, and requeſted of the multitude an amneſty to the priſoners as the moſt deſirable reward they could receive for their own conduct.

It has been ſaid, that the populace of Paris have become ſanguinary and cruel by being familiarized to ſcenes of blood; but the circumſtances of wanton barbarity with which

which the murders of Meſſrs. Foulon and Berthier were accompanied took place at the beginning of the Revolution, and they have not been ſurpaſſed by any that have happened ſince: indeed it is almoſt impoſſible they could.

It is well known, that profligacy and wickedneſs of every ſort are puſhed greater lengths in capitals, where vaſt numbers of mankind are aſſembled, than in the provinces. Paris has been long thought a place of greater profligacy than any other capital in Europe. At London the induſtry of the city ſerves as ſome check to the diſſipation of Weſtminſter. The other capital cities in Europe are ſmaller and poorer. Paris, although not ſo large nor ſo rich as London, was more luxurious; becauſe, on account of the univerſality of the French language, the general imitation of French manners, and other reaſons, it was not only the capital of France but in ſome degree of all Europe,

and

and was much more frequented by the rich and diſſipated from every country than London ever was. At Paris, pleaſure was not only to be had on eaſier terms, but was alſo ſerved up more to the taſte of foreigners in general than at London. There is a greater reſort of induſtrious ſtrangers to the latter, becauſe of a more extenſive field for induſtry; but undoubtedly a greater number of gameſters, ſharpers, and adventurers of every denomination, from the different countries of Europe, were to be found at Paris than in any other town in the world. Such men became the ready agents of thoſe who had the moſt criminal views in the progreſs of the Revolution, and puſhed the Pariſians to a greater degree of violence againſt royalty than was ſhewn by the generality of the provinces; although it is evident that the former had a greater intereſt in the preſervation of it. The city of Paris owes its moſt admired ornaments, ſome peculiar rights,

rights, and a great part of its wealth, to the favour of the Monarchs and to the neighbourhood of the Court, and unqueſtionably will loſe more by the continuation of the republican form of government than any part of France.

In the account of theſe exceſſes tranſmitted to the provinces, their cauſe was always aſſigned to a dreadful conſpiracy againſt the National Aſſembly and the National Freedom, which had been carried on by the Court and a part of the Nobles. This account was induſtriouſly ſpread, and occaſioned ſimilar exceſſes in various provinces of France. Thoſe of whom the Municipal Councils were compoſed being accuſed of favouring the old government, new Common Councils were appointed in many of the towns, conſiſting of men ſuppoſed to be of the moſt patriotic principles. The peaſantry roſe againſt certain unpopular Noblemen, burned their caſtles, obliged them to fly for their

lives, and a general rage againſt the Nobleſſe ſeemed to ſpread all over the kingdom.

This proceeded, no doubt, in a conſiderable degree from the inferior order of people becoming more and more licentious by impunity and the hopes of pillage; but its becoming ſo univerſal forms a ſtrong preſumption alſo of a ſenſe of oppreſſion and ill uſage received by the peaſants from their lords.

It is moſt fervently to be hoped, that, in Great Britain, Government will always have ſufficient energy to maintain the laws in force, and equally to protect the high from the ſeditious violence of the low, and the low from the inſolent oppreſſion of the high: but if, from whatever cauſe, this iſland were ſubjected to ſome political convulſion, and the populace excited againſt the higher orders of ſociety, I am perſuaded that the Nobility and Gentry of England,

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ſo far from being attacked with peculiar rancour by the peaſantry of their own eſtates, would in general be protected and defended by them.

The yeomanry of England are a claſs of men, to which no other country has any thing exactly ſimilar. The farmers of land love and reſpect the Country Gentlemen and Nobility of Great Britain, and have more reaſon to do ſo than the ſame ſet of men in any other nation. What is this owing to? In Great Britain popularity is of more conſequence to a Gentleman or Nobleman than it was in France before the Revolution, or is at preſent in Germany and other European countries. There are many, no doubt, who would ſhew attention and hoſpitality to their neighbours in the lower ranks of life, from the mere ſentiments of benevolence and generoſity; but it has been obſerved, that nothing has more influence in keeping thoſe ſentiments alive in the boſoms

of the great, than their having ſomething to aſk or expect from the favour of the little. This is the caſe in England, at leaſt once in ſeven years. The love and attachment of the county in which he lives is not only ſoothing to the heart, but alſo worthy of the ambition of the greateſt Nobleman of Great Britain. It increaſes his political importance, whether he ſupports or oppoſes the meaſures of Adminiſtration. It is much to be feared, that thoſe are apt to neglect and even deſpiſe the people, who think that they can do them neither good nor harm. The inferior orders in France had been long in this ſtate of neglect and even contempt: when by the Revolution they found that this was no longer the caſe, they were ſo impatient to prove it, that they began by doing miſchief to ſhew that they were now of ſome importance. Liberty would be a greater bleſſing to a people who have been long in ſervitude, if it could be given by degrees:

degrees: when it is obtained too ſuddenly, inſtead of being ſalutary, it is ſometimes noxious—like victuals ſerved up in profuſion to men half famiſhed, the conſequence of which is often ſurfeit, and ſometimes death.

CHAPTER XIII.

M. Necker is recalled—His triumphant Reception at Paris—recommends a general Anneſty—diſpleaſes the Sections—Some Members of the Aſſembly blame the conduct of M. Necker, who begins to loſe his Popularity—Diſorders all over France—The National Aſſembly greatly alarmed—Decrees of the fourth of Auguſt—The Duke of Rochefoucault—Sacrifices made by the Clergy.

M. NECKER, who had left France in obedience to the King's order on the 11th of July, had paſſed by Bruſſels, and arrived at Baſle on his way to Coppet near Geneva. He there received the letters from the King and National Aſſembly, requeſting his return to the ſituation he had juſt quitted in the Adminiſtration.

M. Necker

M. Necker has taken great pains to be conſidered by the world in the light of a Philoſopher as well as a Miniſter of State. It is fortunate for Philoſophers, that they can do pretty well without being Miniſters of State; but it is very unfortunate for a Miniſter of State not to be ſomewhat of a Philoſopher. It is probable that he will have frequent occaſions for the exerciſe of philoſophy during his adminiſtration, and he will ſtand in need of a great deal of it, in caſe he ſhould be turned ſuddenly out of it. After the univerſal obſequiouſneſs to which Miniſters have been accuſtomed while in office, the wonderful alteration which they experience on their removal, however natural it may ſeem to the reſt of the world, generally is ſo ſhocking to them, that inſtead of philoſophers it is apt to make them miſanthropes. There are, however, books in abundance in the library of every Miniſter, tending to ſhew the folly of ambition, the

inquietudes attending power, and how infinitely preferable a life of tranquillity and retirement is.

The love of power is perhaps more deeply rooted in the heart of man than any of his affections, and often ſurvives them all: it is ſtronger than friendſhip; for we ſee even thoſe who are counted honeſt men abandon their friends to enjoy it: it is ſtronger than hatred; for we ſee men connect themſelves with their enemies for the ſame purpoſe. And we have been aſſured, that the friends of M. Necker endeavoured to confirm him in the reſolution of retirement, by pointing out the danger of reſuming his office among a people ſo unſettled and ſo liable to exceſſes as the French; but notwithſtanding all the remonſtrances of his friends, and all his own philoſophy, inſtead of proceeding to Coppet, he determined to return to Paris.

The ſigns of eſteem and attachment which

which were exhibited in every village and town through which he paſſed in his way from Baſle to Paris, the tranſports of joy which the Pariſians manifeſted, and their acclamations on his entering their city, with the very honourable reception he met with from the National Aſſembly, muſt have been peculiarly gratifying, and no doubt rendered him highly ſatisfied with his determination of returning; which, however, he ſoon after had much reaſon to repent. M. Necker has been accuſed of being too fond of the noiſy applauſe of the multitude. The viſit he made to the capital immediately after he had waited on the King and the National Aſſembly has been imputed by many to a deſire of prolonging the pleaſure he took in hearing his own praiſe. But even the enemies of M. Necker allow, that he is a man of diſtinguiſhed humanity. His impatience to viſit Paris, therefore, may naturally be aſſigned to the deſire of ſaving the

life of M. Bezenval. As his intentions were known, he was waited for at the barrier by a multitude of the inhabitants; the ſtreets and windows were crowded with admiring ſpectators; while his carriage was drawn to the Hotel de Ville, it was beheld with the ſame appearance of reſpect as the ſhrine of Genevieve, the tutelar ſaint of Paris, was formerly, when carried in proceſſion through the ſtreets. At the Hotel de Ville M. Necker was received by the Electors with every mark of profound reſpect; the populace from all parts of the city hurried to obtain a ſight of the admired Miniſter. He was requeſted to appear at the balcony, to gratify the multitude which filled the Place de Greve; and to render their gratification complete, his wife and daughter had the goodneſs to appear with him, one on the right, the other on the left. What rendered this ſublime ſpectacle entirely new, was, that a man and his wife were hardly ever

ſeen

ſeen in public together at Paris. It required a revolution in the State, and all M. Necker's popularity, to prevent an exhibition ſo contrary to eſtabliſhed manners from ſeeming ridiculous in the eyes of Pariſians. So far from appearing ridiculous, M. Necker, although his wife was at his ſide, was beheld by the people in the ſquare with the moſt enthuſiaſtic admiration: His Holineſs himſelf, when from the balcony of St. Peter's he pronounces his benediction on the adoring multitude beneath, was never more loudly and more perſeveringly applauded.

After returning from the balcony to the hall, M. Necker's firſt care was to inform the Electors, that on his way to Paris having heard that Baron de Bezenval, commander of the Swiſs guards, had been arreſted by the militia of Villenaux, he had written in the Baron's favour to the municipal officers of that town; but they had delayed ſetting him at liberty without an

order from the permanent committee of the Hotel de Ville.

After relating thoſe particulars, M. Necker gave the moſt honourable teſtimony regarding the character of M. Bezenval; repreſenting how unjuſt it would appear in the eyes of all Europe to detain a meritorious officer as a priſoner, when he was on his way home by the leave of the King; and entreated, that orders might be immediately ſent for releaſing him. Perceiving that his propoſal was approved of, and that the audience were in a cheerful and humane diſpoſition, he proceeded in a pathetic and eloquent manner to lament the diſorders which had already taken place, and to recommend a general amneſty as the ſureſt means of reſtoring tranquillity, and infinitely the greateſt mark of regard which could be ſhewn to himſelf.

M. Necker's diſcourſe was heard with rapture. Orders were ſent for the releaſe of M. Bezenval, and a general amneſty was

decreed, *par acclamation*, by the General Aſſembly of the Electors.

M. Necker has been much cenſured for this part of his conduct. It has been ſaid, that the granting of pardon, whether general or particular, legally belonged to the King, and that to apply elſewhere to obtain it was affrontive to his authority. The anſwer to this is, that the King at this period had no authority.

It has been alſo ſaid, that he ought to have made this application to the National Aſſembly, as the next exiſting power which could with any appearance of lawful authority grant pardon or indemnity. The anſwer to this ſecond objection is, that M. Necker plainly ſaw that the Aſſembly were at that time overawed by the decided and active meaſures which had been taken by the Electors, and durſt not then interfere; whereas the Aſſembly of Electors having manifeſted the plenitude of their power in ſo

many

many inſtances, he was eager to make it ſubſervient in this inſtance to the cauſe of humanity and mercy; and it is to the honour of M. Necker, that when he ſaw that the intereſting objects he had in view were not to be obtained by regular means, he tried thoſe means which he thought would ſucceed, without regarding whether they were regular or not.

There were thoſe preſent in the Hotel de Ville, who did not partake of the humane enthuſiaſm, were enemies of M. Necker, and who immediately diſperſed themſelves among the diſtricts, making an outcry againſt the Council at the Hotel de Ville for having ordered the releaſe of Bezenval, and for daring to ſend a proclamation for general pardon and peace round to the different municipalities. They attributed the propoſal of M. Necker to an inclination to regain the favour of the Court, and of all the conſpirators againſt national freedom.

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The agitation of the diſtricts was ſo ſudden, and the popular fury became ſo violent, that the Council at the Hotel de Ville retracted their meaſures; and the Committee of Electors, which had been enabled to form an army of the turbulent citizens, ſufficient to keep in check the regular troops which encircled Paris, and to ſtorm the Baſtile, found itſelf unable to maintain one illegal act of humanity and compaſſion.

One of the diſtricts was ſo much afraid that M. Bezenval would be ſet free in conſequence of the firſt order of the Electors, that they ſent deputies to prevent it; and other diſtricts ſent a deputation to the National Aſſembly to complain of the conduct of the Electors, and to warn the Aſſembly againſt giving a ſanction to it.

The National Aſſembly were well pleaſed to check the power of the Aſſembly of Electors, and would have been equally pleaſed to have been able to oppoſe that of thoſe

which ſucceeded them in the capital, namely, that body which was called the Repreſentative Body of the Commons of Paris; but the latter they durſt not venture to touch.

Meſſrs. Mounier, Lally-Tolendal, Malouet, and others, men of probity, regretting that the act of the Electors had ever been called into queſtion, were for declaring the general principle, that, without any regard to popular clamours, no perſon ſhould be arreſted without a poſitive accuſation, and that Bezenval ſhould be directly ſet at liberty.

Mirabeau, who knew that the releaſe of M. Bezenval and the indemnity had been granted by the Electors to the general eſteem for M. Necker, and in conſequence of an eloquent and pathetic diſcourſe pronounced by him at the Town-houſe, oppoſed the releaſe of M. Bezenval and the decree of amneſty. His motive is generally attributed to jealouſy of M. Necker's popularity, and a ſtrong

a ſtrong inclination to render him ſuſpected by or indifferent to the people; in which he ſoon after ſucceeded. "Nous-mêmes n'avons pas le droit de prononcer une amniſtie," ſaid he. "Le pouvoir de faire grace, tant qu'il exiſte, réſide éminemment dans la perſonne du Monarque: je dis, tant qu'il exiſte; parce que c'eſt une grande queſtion que de déterminer ſi ce pouvoir de faire grace peut exiſter, dans quelles mains il réſidera s'il exiſte, et ſi les crimes contre les nations devroient jamais être remis, &c.*"

Mirabeau was not naturally an inhuman or blood-thirſty man: but on this occaſion

* We ourſelves have not the right to pronounce an amneſty: the power of pardoning, while it ſhall exiſt, belongs to the King alone: I ſay, while it ſhall exiſt; becauſe it is a matter of great importance to decide, whether this power of pardoning ought to exiſt, in whoſe hands it ought to be placed if allowed to exiſt, and whether crimes againſt nations ought ever to be forgiven.

he ſhewed himſelf a man of violent paſſions and of unjuſtifiable reſentment; for in all probability it was merely to mortify one who had neglected him, and of whoſe popularity he was jealous, that he ſpoke againſt the pardon of a man he could not think guilty of any crime, and againſt a general indemnity, which, whether properly ordered or not, he knew to be highly expedient.

Roberſpierre, who was little known at this period, betrayed ſomewhat of that cruel and unrelenting ſpirit which ſince has ſpread ſuch dread and horror all over France, by ſpeaking on this occaſion againſt pardon or amneſty. He ſeems alſo to have ſeized ſome of the hints thrown out by Mirabeau, and to have made uſe of them long afterwards as the foundation of part of his reaſoning in the proceſs againſt the King.

The Aſſembly determined that a Committee ſhould be appointed to examine into the accuſations; but being ſenſible, that, if

M. Bezenval

M. Bezenval were conducted to Paris, all their authority could not protect him from the rage of the populace, they ordered that he ſhould be carried to a caſtle of ſome ſtrength near the place where he had been arreſted, and there guarded till his trial.

Thus the earneſt wiſhes of M. Necker were croſſed and defeated when he ſeemed to be at the height of popularity, by the very people of whoſe applauſe he was ſo fond; and he had now reaſon to be convinced, that, whatever their regard and admiration of him might be, their thirſt of blood, and rancour againſt thoſe whom they conſidered as their enemies, was ſtronger. Any pleaſure which he may have derived from the contemplation that he poſſeſſed the affection of ſuch people, muſt have been mightily diminiſhed after he made this diſcovery.

In his letter to the Secretary of the Common Council of Paris, who firſt informed him of the ſudden turn which had happened,

pened, M. Necker expreſſes himſelf in the following words: " J'ai reçu la *triſte* nouvelle que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de me communiquer. J'en rendrai compte au Roi. *Mon bonheur n'a guère duré* * "

What ſhews of how very little importance the King was already become in the eyes of all parties is, that the mention made of him in this letter is the only notice that ſeems to have been taken of him in this whole tranſaction. An officer is arreſted by the militia of a provincial town, as he is on his way to his native country: the King's Miniſter, returning at the call of the Nation to the capital, declares that the officer had his Majeſty's permiſſion, and requires of the municipality to allow him to proceed: they refuſe until they ſhall receive orders

* I have received the ſad news you did me the honour to tranſmit to me. I ſhall communicate them to the King. My happineſs has not been of long duration.

from

from a Committee at Paris: the Miniſter afterwards applies for the ſame purpoſe to this Committee: but no more notice is taken of the King, than if he had not been in exiſtence.

In fact, the King was already deprived of all authority, and what he had afterwards was no longer conſidered as an eſſential prerogative of the Crown, but a gift of the National Aſſembly. And it ſoon afterwards appeared, that the Aſſembly were not able to maintain him even in the exerciſe of that ſhare of power which they placed in his hands: for when, inſtead of an abſolute veto on their decrees, the National Aſſembly reſolved that the King ſhould only have a ſuſpending one, it was found that he could not make uſe of it without raiſing a violent clamour, and expoſing himſelf and his family to the outrages of the mob.

The vindictive diſpoſition and exceſſes of the Pariſian populace were to be regretted

not only on account of their effects at Paris, but alſo on account of the example thereby given to the lower orders, and particularly the tenants of land, and the peaſantry, all over France, among whom great diſorders continued after ſome appearance of regularity had taken place in the capital. It will be naturally imagined, that many took advantage of the general confuſed ſtate of the country, and made it a pretence for refuſing to pay the taxes to Government, and even the rents due to their landlords. Complaints of this were frequently made to the Aſſembly, who thought proper to refer them to a Committee, which was directed to make a report and ſuggeſt a remedy for ſo dangerous an evil.

The remedy which the Committee recommended was, that the Aſſembly ſhould publiſh a ſolemn *Declaration* of their entirely diſapproving of the unlawful practice of refuſing to pay taxes and rents, and adviſing

all perſons concerned to pay them regularly for the future. It is ſurpriſing that this Committee, when they were recommending ſuch efficacious means for putting a ſtop to unlawful practices, did not recommend at the ſame time a ſolemn proclamation againſt the unlawful practice of fornication, which is of ſtill longer ſtanding, and had as good a chance of being put an end to by a proclamation.

It would appear that the meaſure adopted had entirely failed; for while the National Aſſembly were occupied at Verſailles in framing that bill of rights which they intended as the foundation of their new Conſtitution, accounts came from all quarters, that the ſpirit of revolt ſeemed to increaſe inſtead of diminiſhing in the provinces; that to a refuſal of paying taxes and rents many inſtances of pillaging, robbery, and houſe-breaking, were added; that the Nobility in particular were expoſed to theſe

depredations; that many of their family ſeats had been plundered and demoliſhed, and in ſome caſes their wives and children abuſed and inſulted in the groſſeſt manner. As almoſt all the proprietors of land in the Aſſembly, and the other moſt reſpectable Deputies, received accounts to the ſame effect, they made a deep impreſſion and ſpread a great alarm. Many letters of this nature were received on the fourth of Auguſt. When the Aſſembly met in the evening, ſtrong ſymptoms of vexation, anxiety, and terror, were viſible in the countenances of the members, particularly thoſe belonging to the two firſt orders, who ſeemed now convinced of the neceſſity of uniting without reſerve with the third, as the only means of preſerving their property and ſecuring their families from inſult.

The extraordinary impreſſions with which the Deputies were ſo ſeverely and ſo ſuddenly affected, produced conſequences as

extraordinary and as ſudden. While every one ſeemed engroſſed with his own feelings, and waited to hear what might be propoſed by ſome other, the Viſcount de Noailles opened the ſcene by aſſerting, that the people were driven to thoſe exceſſes by the accumulation and weight of the burdens under which they laboured; that they were become deſperate by the exaction of taxes which they could not pay, and feudal ſervices above their ſtrength; that it was now become as neceſſary, for the ſafety of the rich as for the relief of the poor, that many ſources of oppreſſion ſhould be immediately aboliſhed, leſt the country people ſhould proceed farther lengths than they had hitherto done, and take upon themſelves the taſk of doing themſelves juſtice. He then enlarged on the glory which the Nobility would derive from ſacrificing private intereſt and importance to the public good; and concluded by moving, that thoſe ſources of tyranny and

injuſtice ſhould be aboliſhed; that all public charges ſhould be equally ſupported by the whole community, and all taxes levied in proportion to the income of each individual; that all feudal claims ſhould be redeemable at a fair valuation; that corvées, and all rights of the lords to the perſonal ſervices of the peaſantry, ſhould be entirely aboliſhed, and other grievances, under which the people ſuffered, alleviated.

The Viſcount de Noailles' motion was ſeconded by the Duke d'Aiguillon, who made another tending to the ſame purpoſe, which created more ſurpriſe than the former, on account of the Duke's ample eſtate and extenſive royalties, which rendered his ſacrifices greater, although his patriotiſm was perhaps only equal to that of the Viſcount.

When certain ancient feudal claims, which are indecent in themſelves, and degrading to humanity, were begun to be enumerated, a cry of horror burſt from the audience, and

prevented

prevented the Deputy from proceeding. This circumſtance, however, increaſed the enthuſiaſm for reformation which animated the Aſſembly. And the bright examples of the noble Viſcount and Duke above mentioned, joined to the thundering applauſe with which their propoſals were heard, excited great emulation. The virtues of ſelf-denial and patriotiſm became ſo precious in the eyes of ſome who had never before ſeemed to put any great value upon them, that hardly any ſacrifice was thought too dear for the purchaſe of even the reputation of poſſeſſing them, which was bid for on this occaſion, like a valuable ſtatue or picture at an auction, with an ardour which drew freſh applauſe, excited freſh emulation, and made the Nobles outbid each other in a manner that aſtoniſhed the galleries, and delighted the Commons, who, having no ſacrifices to make, could not enter into the competition.

Some of the Nobles, however, were provoked at certain ſacrifices which affected themſelves more than the propoſers, and in revenge they moved for different ſacrifices which affected the others more than themſelves. This kind of retaliation is not unnatural to lofty minds, if Homer was a judge of nature: "If I am to be deprived of my miſtreſs," ſaid Agamemnon to Achilles, "you ſhall be deprived of yours alſo." In what other particulars the Nobles in queſtion reſembled the Greek heroes, I know not; but it is ſaid that to the heat raiſed by this colliſion of emulation, patriotiſm, and revenge, the heat and expanſion of heart produced by wine were added—ſo that on the whole more was obtained for the people at this one ſitting after dinner, than the moſt ſanguine reformer had expected in many days.

The Deputies of certain provinces which enjoyed peculiar privileges, took upon themſelves, without inſtructions from their conſtituents,

ſtituents, to propoſe, that the charters and franchiſes of theſe provinces ſhould be added to the ſacrifices of this memorable night.

The Clergy had hitherto remained aſtoniſhed and ſilent ſpectators of a ſcene ſo awful and unexpected; and a motion having been made to put an end to the meeting, the Preſident was proceeding accordingly, when ſuddenly he made a pauſe, and reproached himſelf for want of attention in being about "prematurely to cloſe the meeting before any of the venerable body of the Clergy, ever ſympathiſing with the diſtreſſes of the people, had declared their ſentiments on ſo intereſting a ſubject."

There was no evading this apoſtrophe. The Biſhops of Nancy and Chartres ſpoke in the name of their brethren. The firſt not only approved of a motion which had been made that the feudal rights, and all other juriſdictions of lords of manors eſtabliſhed in the ſame manner, ſhould be aboliſhed;

aboliſhed; but he propoſed beſides, that the price of the ranſom of eccleſiaſtical feudalities ſhould be applied to the relief of the poorer part of the eccleſiaſtical body, and not to the profit of the actual incumbent.

The Biſhop of Chartres, after inſiſting on the injuſtice of the game laws, and painting in glowing colours the cruelty of obliging the poor farmer to be the paſſive witneſs of ravages on his property, propoſed the ſuppreſſion of thoſe laws and all the pretended rights of the chace.

The excluſive rights of fiſheries, to warrens, and to dovecots, all of which conſiderably affected the revenue of the Clergy, were alſo aboliſhed; and ſome Dignitaries of the Church, who poſſeſſed more benefices than one, declared that they were reſolved to limit themſelves to a ſingle one.

The Duke de la Rochefoucault, who was a friend to liberty and had promoted the Revolution, was however no republican, but a well-

well-wiſher to monarchy, and perſonally attached to the King, took this opportunity of doing honour to the Monarch he loved, by reminding the Aſſembly that his Majeſty had anticipated one of their decrees, by having already given freedom to all the ſerfs in his own demeſnes; and the Duke at the ſame time did honour to his own heart, by expreſſing a wiſh that before the end of the ſeſſions the Aſſembly would take into conſideration the deplorable condition of the Negroes in their colonies.

How came this enthuſiaſtic friend of freedom to prefer a monarchical form of government to a republican? Not ſurely for the ſake of the monarch or his family. Were it even clear that royalty conveyed happineſs, he could not have preferred the happineſs of a ſingle family to that of the millions who inhabit France. No; it muſt have been from a conviction that a well regulated hereditary monarchy would be more

conducive

conducive to the happineſs of thoſe millions than a republic. The proofs which experience has afforded of the truth of that opinion are the only right which Kings have to their crowns; a good King would not wiſh for a ſtronger; a wiſe one could hardly believe they ever had any other.

It would have been fortunate for the French nation, that they had adhered to this opinion of the Duke de Rochefoucault. They have thought otherwiſe; it is their affair. Perhaps they may come of themſelves to alter their way of thinking on that ſubject; which is certainly moſt likely to happen when no attempt is made to force them to it; but ſhould *they* endeavour to turn monarchies into republics, or ſhould monarchies endeavour to force republics to aſſume a monarchical form of government, there can be no tranquillity or happineſs in Europe. If indeed it had been uſual for the different nations of Europe to manifeſt a diſintereſted

intereſted regard for the proſperity of each other; if there were many proofs recorded in hiſtory, that, ſo far from taking advantage of the accidental diſtreſſes or calamities in which any of them were involved, the others had ſhewn a readineſs to relieve their unfortunate neighbours, and to extricate them from their difficulties; then indeed the caſe would be different: but as there are not many inſtances of this nature on record, it is not ſurpriſing that the French ſhould not conſider the hints they have received from their neighbours to renounce the republican and reſume their old form of government, as proofs of good will, or that they heſitate a little before they determine to take them.

To return to the National Aſſembly:—In commemoration of the ſacrifices made, this famous ſitting concluded with a decree conferring the title of Reſtorer of French Liberty on the King; and a deputation was appointed to inform him of this, and to requeſt

queſt his preſence at a Te Deum to be celebrated throughout the kingdom; which ceremony was performed accordingly, attended by the King and the whole Aſſembly.

The Third Order were ſo expreſſive of their admiration of the generoſity and ſelf-denial that appeared in the conduct of the Nobility and Clergy, that it might have been expected they would have tried to check an enthuſiaſm which, if carried farther, might prove too injurious to thoſe two orders; and this was the more to be expected from men of candour and equity, as moſt of the Deputies of the Tiers-Etat could not imitate the other two orders in making ſuch ſacrifices, and were little affected, in point of intereſt, by thoſe which had been propoſed.

It appears, however, that the Commons did not labour under any delicate diſtreſs of this kind; for the Committee appointed to reduce the various propoſals that had been

been made into the form of a law, included the tithes as a feudal vaſſalage or tax levied on the lands, which had never entered into the minds of the Clergy, who conſidered eccleſiaſtical tithes as a rent-charge for the maintenance of the Church, for which a proper allowance had been made to the actual proprietors in the purchaſe of their eſtates; and therefore they imagined that the Legiſlature could not without injuſtice transfer this from them, whoſe property it was, to the landlords, who had no claim to it. This article being ſtrongly and juſtly objected to, produced ſeveral warm debates, in which the Abbé Sieyes made the moſt conſpicuous figure, defending the rights of the Church, and proving the injuſtice of ſtripping the Clergy in this arbitrary manner. The Abbé was not liſtened to on this occaſion with that attention which had been uſually paid to him, and which the ſtrength

of

of his reaſoning deſerved. He pleaded the cauſe of the Church on the principles of plain good ſenſe and equity, without calling the aſſiſtance of ſophiſtry, or giving the leaſt hint of the divine right of tithes. Had the Abbé been inclined to make uſe of them, he knew that no arguments derived from ſuperſtition could have weight with his preſent audience; he found that thoſe founded on juſtice had as little.

The impatience of the audience during the Abbé's reaſoning did not ariſe from any eagerneſs to anſwer his arguments; it was the impatience which men predetermined to be unjuſt feel on hearing their injuſtice made manifeſt. He concluded one of his ſpeeches by obſerving, that "if they wiſhed to be *free*, they ſhould begin by being *juſt*."

A country vicar, perceiving that the unanſwerable diſcourſes of the Abbé produced

no effect, with great vehemence addreſſed the Commons in theſe words: "Was it to plunder us that you invited us to join you in the name of the *God of Peace?*"

The Nobles were as unrelenting as the Commons. They ſeemed to have been actuated in ſome degree by reſentment againſt the Clergy for having abandoned them on the important queſtion of the manner of voting; and the ungrateful return which the Clergy now met with from the Commons, it is probable, was more ſenſibly felt by them than the retaliation of the Nobles. But the Nobles acted very unwiſely in indulging their reſentment in this manner. Many of the greateſt miſchiefs in ſociety ſpring from the ſecret ſatisfaction which one claſs of men ſometimes take, or the indifference at leaſt which they feel when the rights of another claſs is attacked; without conſidering, that the moment a law is paſſed which

is oppreſſive on any ſet of men, a ſource of oppreſſion is opened againſt every ſet of men. Even thoſe, therefore, who reſpect no man's rights but their own, are ſtrongly intereſted to forget private reſentment, and to defend the rights of all their neighbours.

The cooleſt heads among the Clergy, perceiving that the Nobles and Commons were united againſt them, and thinking that longer reſiſtance would only ſerve to irritate thoſe on whom they and their brethren muſt at laſt rely for ſupport, determined to ſubmit with the beſt grace they could.

The Archbiſhop of Paris, when the conteſt was at the warmeſt and the noiſe at the height, aroſe and declared in the name of his brethren, that their only anxiety was that divine worſhip might continue to be celebrated with dignity; that the goſpel might be preached by virtuous and well inſtructed

ſtructed clergymen; that the poor might be relieved and ſuccoured; and ſhould theſe purpoſes be effected, that they would reſign the whole of their tithes into the hands of the nation, and for their own future ſupport truſt entirely to the juſtice of their country.

As the Archbiſhop continued his diſcourſe, and the purport of it opened upon the audience, the bluſtering of the conteſt which had ſo long prevailed in the hall gradually abated, and the noiſe at laſt ſubſided into a general whiſper of ſatisfaction, as a ſtorm ſubſides at the appearance of the twin ſtars—

Deſidit ſaxis agitatus humor;
Concidunt venti, fugiuntque nubes,
Et minax ——————— ponto
Unda recumbit.

Some of the people in the galleries, after remaining a few moments ſilent and motionleſs, clapped their hands in applauſe of

the great ſacrifice which the Clergy had offered; but the generality of the Aſſembly, conſidering it as a conſtrained and not a free-will offering, while they rejoiced at the ſacrifice, derided the ſacrificers.

CHAPTER XIV.

Reflections on the Cruelty to which the Clergy were ſubjected—On the Power to be given to the King—The Project of two Chambers—The Galleries of the National Aſſembly—Manœuvres reſpecting the Audience—A Feaſt given by the Gardes-du-Corps to the Regiment of Flanders at Verſailles—The National Aſſembly diſpleaſed with the King's Anſwer to their Addreſs—The Tranſactions of the Entertainment miſrepreſented—Inſurrection at Paris—M. La Fayette endeavours to quell it, without Effect—The firſt Conductors of the Revolution juſtified—M. La Fayette marches with 20,000 Men to Verſailles.

THE National Aſſembly have treated the Clergy of France ſomething in the ſame cruel manner that the Roman

Senate behaved in the third Punic war to the Carthaginians.

When the Carthaginians heard of the hoſtile preparations of the Romans, conſcious of their own weakneſs, they declared themſelves willing to ſubmit to the diſcretion of the Roman people, and to the terms of peace they ſhould exact. The Senate applauded their prudence, and required hoſtages as pledges of their fidelity. The hoſtages were ſent. The Roman Conſul, who was at Utica with his army, then required, in the name of the Senate, that the Carthaginians ſhould deliver up their arms and warlike ſtores; ſuch things being uſeleſs to a people now under the protection of the Roman republic. The Magiſtrates of Carthage were ſhocked at the rigour of this demand: after ſome heſitation, however, they acquieſced, ſaying they had an unbounded confidence in the juſtice of the Senate. The Conſul, after highly praiſing their

conduct,

conduct, informed them that they muſt abandon Carthage, which it was the pleaſure of the Senate ſhould be deſtroyed.

With ſimilar perfidy the Clergy of France were allured to join in the Revolution, to make many ſacrifices in the hopes of being protected in the poſſeſſion of what remained, and then obliged to rely on the juſtice of the Aſſembly, which ſtripped them of the whole, except on conditions which their conſciences prevented many of them from agreeing to. This refuſal being repreſented as a crime, the unhappy Clergy have at various periods been perſecuted and maſſacred, all over the nation. The moſt ſtriking difference between the caſes is, that thoſe whom the Romans treated in this perfidious and cruel manner had been for ages their ancient and inveterate enemies; whereas thoſe whom the National Aſſembly treated thus unjuſtly were their own countrymen, and that part of their countrymen whoſe

peculiar duty it was to teach benevolence and good will towards mankind.

One of the moſt important queſtions that was agitated by the National Aſſembly, while they were employed in forming the Conſtitution, regarded the degree of power to be placed in the hands of the King, and particularly whether his conſent ſhould be made neceſſary for giving the force of law to the decrees of the Aſſembly. The Latin word *veto*, of which the Tribunes of the Roman People made uſe when they gave a negative to a law, was adopted on this occaſion to expreſs the King's negative. The debates on this ſubject continued from the end of Auguſt till the middle of September, were carried on with extraordinary heat, and created a diviſion in the Aſſembly, which has continued through ſubſequent legiſlatures with augmenting hatred.

On this matter there were three opinions.

1. That the decrees of the Aſſembly ſhould

ſhould be law, without any ſanction from the King.

2. That the King ſhould have an abſolute negative on all decrees.

3. That the King's negative ſhould not be abſolute, but only ſuſpenſive.

During the debates on this ſubject it appeared, that the majority of the members were ſo apprehenſive of a return of the old tyranny, that they overlooked many other dangers. They were ſo ſolicitous to ſecure the legiſlative power from the attempts of the executive, that they ſeem to have forgotten that it was a monarchical conſtitution which they had profeſſed to eſtabliſh; and weakened the executive power to ſuch a degree as almoſt to render it uſeleſs;—the conſequence of which has been, that, in the progreſs of the Revolution, the Aſſembly itſelf has been inſulted in the groſſeſt manner, and the monarchy overturned.

Mirabeau, who wiſhed to preſerve the monarchy

monarchy while he laboured to give freedom to his country, endeavoured to ſhew, that giving an abſolute veto to the King tended to both thoſe purpoſes; that it would prove a check alſo to crude and precipitate decrees, and might on ſome future occaſion prevent an ambitious majority from tyrannizing over, perhaps expelling, the members who oppoſed them, and forming at laſt an odious and deſpotic ariſtocracy with the name of a republic.

All Mirabeau's eloquence in ſupport of the abſolute veto proved ineffectual within the Aſſembly; and without doors the prejudice againſt it was ſtill greater. The open and unreſtrained diſcuſſion of a political queſtion was ſtill a new enjoyment in France, and on the preſent occaſion was purſued with all that ardour which new pleaſures generally excite in that country. Very few underſtood what the word meant, or ever troubled themſelves to enquire; yet

men, women, and children, although according to the cuſtom of the country eternally ſpeaking, ſpoke of nothing, during ſeveral weeks, but the veto. In the ſame manner as ſome years ago, when the whole nation took a fancy to be eternally ſinging, they ſang no other ſong but Malbrouck. To harangue againſt the veto in public places became a mark of patriotiſm; liſts of the members who ſpoke in its favour were handed about, and all thoſe whoſe names were in the liſts were execrated as traitors. In ſhort, upon this as on many other occaſions during the Revolution, a violent ſtorm was raiſed, and furious ſpirits rode in the whirlwind and directed it.

The moſt judicious as well as the moſt eloquent members were for giving the King an abſolute negative on the decrees of the Aſſembly. The majority, however, were ſo much intimidated by the clamours without doors, that they adopted the ſuſpenſive

veto;

veto; decreeing that it ſhould continue in force for two ſucceſſive legiſlatures; but, if the third ſhould approve of the ſuſpended decree, it ſhould then become a law without the royal ſanction.

This meaſure, which was recommended by Necker and is praiſed by Rabaud de Saint Etienne, did not ſatisfy the King, and was ſtill more diſpleaſing to the people, who perceived little or no difference between this and the abſolute veto. Mirabeau ſhewed more profound political knowledge than M. Necker or Rabaud, by placing himſelf among thoſe who ſupported it; and at the ſame time he gave a proof that his love of popularity could not in a point ſo material make him act contrary to his opinion. The idea, that giving to the King an abſolute veto on the acts of the Aſſembly would gradually bring back the old deſpotiſm was what influenced the Deputies who oppoſed it. Mirabeau ſaw that other articles

in

in the Conſtitution would prevent ſuch an effect, and that the ſpirit of the times alone rendered it almoſt impoſſible. He probably alſo foreſaw, that the ſuſpenſive veto would become a continual cauſe of jealouſy and diſcord between the King and the Aſſembly. But even if this prerogative, which ſeems to have been highly neceſſary, had been eſtabliſhed in the Conſtitution, ſtill a prudent Miniſter would not have adviſed the King to make uſe of it, until the jealouſies of the people were diſſipated, and the government regularly formed; and perhaps not even then, unleſs it was evident that the Monarch, in giving his negative to a decree of the Aſſembly, had a reſpectable minority of the Aſſembly, and a very decided majority of the People at large, of his opinion. With all theſe precautions, the veto in particular inſtances might ſtill be erroneouſly given: the King, the minority of the Aſſembly, and the majority of the Public, might be in the

wrong,

wrong, and the majority of the Aſſembly in the right: yet if the King's negative were never uſed except in ſuch circumſtances, it never could create jealouſy of the power of the Crown on the one hand, or fears for the freedom of the Nation on the other.

The ſuſpenſive veto became, ſoon after the King's acceptance of the Conſtitution, an object of jealouſy, and was no ſooner made uſe of than it became the cauſe, or was made the pretext, of the moſt fatal diſcord.

The next important ſubject of debate happened in conſequence of a propoſal made by M. de Lally-Tolendal in the name of the Commiſſion of Conſtitution, that the Legiſlature ſhould conſiſt of a lower and upper houſe. According to the firſt idea, the upper houſe was to be compoſed of members choſen for life. M. Mounier preferred their being choſen for ſeven years.

Thoſe who had oppoſed the veto were as violent againſt the two chambers or houſes.

They

They dreaded that the influence of the Court would at ſome time or other form the upper houſe of the higher Nobility, and render it hereditary. They endeavoured to ridicule the idea of a balance of power in the various branches of the Legiſlature; and, ſhutting their eyes to all the advantages of the Britiſh Conſtitution, they declaimed againſt its abuſes. Yet, if two houſes have been found beneficial in the Britiſh Legiſlature, and if two chambers of repreſentatives have been of uſe in the American, by affording time for reflection before decrees are finally paſſed; ſo far from oppoſing their introduction, it might have been expected of thoſe members who were beſt acquainted with the characters of Frenchmen, that, inſtead of two chambers, they would have tried to eſtabliſh three in the new Conſtitution of France: but two at leaſt were highly neceſſary, as they would not only have been of ſervice in preventing

intemperate

intemperate deciſions and indigeſted decrees, but in precluding in a great meaſure, if not altogether, the neceſſity of the King's having recourſe to his veto.

Perhaps this propoſal of the two chambers might have been carried, had it not met with ſtrong oppoſition from a quarter where it was leaſt expected; for many of the Nobles themſelves were againſt an upper chamber; and for various reaſons, ariſing, as was ſuſpected, from their different ſituations and views. From the ſuperabundant Nobleſſe of France, only a ſmall portion could be choſen to form an upper chamber. Many of thoſe who ſaw but little probability of their being of the number, could not bear that others, whom they conſidered on a level with, or perhaps inferior, to themſelves, but who had a better chance of being placed in the upper chamber, ſhould obtain that advantage over them; and therefore were againſt the meaſure. Some imagined that

the forty-ſeven members who had firſt joined the Tiers-Etat would be firſt promoted; and it filled them with indignation to think that men whom they looked on as little better than traitors, many of them of the loweſt claſs of Nobleſſe, ſhould, as a reward for betraying its cauſe, be placed at the head of the order. It is alſo believed, that the propoſal of two chambers was oppoſed by ſome of the higher orders who were enemies to the Revolution in any form, and thought that ſuch a regulation would give ſtability to it, and prevent that diſcord, precipitancy, and anarchy, of which they ſaw the ſeeds in the preſent Aſſembly, and from which they augured its ſpeedy overthrow, and the reſtoration of a government more to their taſte.

The project of the two chambers being diſliked by the public in general, and conſidered by many of the Deputies of the Third Order as a plan calculated for raiſing a favoured portion of the Nobleſſe above the

other members of the National Aſſembly, and forming a new and more important ſpecies of Peerage; and as it was not ſupported by the whole body of the Nobleſſe themſelves, and oppoſed by ſeveral of them, it is not ſurpriſing that the motion was loſt by a great majority.

The notion that an Upper Chamber, by creating a more important ſpecies of ariſtocracy though leſs numerous than what exiſted formerly in France, would have proved deſtructive to freedom, ſeems erroneous; but the objection might have been eaſily obviated, by electing the Upper Chamber not from the Nobleſſe alone, but promiſcuouſly from the general body of Deputies without regard to birth; to be continued, according to M. Mounier's propoſal, only for ſeven years, or ſome other limited term; to conſiſt of not more than a fourth or fifth of the general Aſſembly of Repreſentatives, and of members of a more advanced age than was requiſite for being choſen of the Lower Aſſembly.

Aſſembly. This, or ſome contrivance to produce delay and re-conſideration, was aſſuredly highly requiſite in a numerous aſſembly of *Frenchmen*, moſt of them inexperienced in political ſcience, novices in the buſineſs of legiſlation, impetuous, and enthuſiaſtic. To the want of ſome ſalutary check of this nature much of the miſchief and miſery that has befallen France, and ſome perhaps of what through her means has befallen her neighbours, may be aſcribed. Another circumſtance from which ſhe has greatly ſuffered, has been the permitting the people in the galleries of the National Aſſembly to manifeſt their approbation or diſapprobation of the ſpeakers in the noiſy and inſulting manner they ſometimes do.

At the firſt aſſembling of the States-General, the curioſity of the public to hear the debates was prodigious; and the Tiers-Etat, who of themſelves firſt formed the National

Aſſembly, ſoon perceived the advantage which reſulted to them from the preſence of a numerous auditory in the galleries. They were not always ſure of having the argument, but they were abſolutely certain of having the galleries, on their ſide.

At the beginning the audience ventured to *applaud* only; and as many members ſpoke more for the purpoſe of drawing a little applauſe than any other, the preſence of ſtrangers was rather agreeable than otherwiſe. But the ſtrangers ſoon took the liberty of giving the moſt noiſy proofs of their diſapprobation as well as of their ſatisfaction. This was complained of by ſeveral members, but never remedied; and it was aſſumed as a right which belonged to the public, that as many of the people as the galleries could contain might always ſit there. This right was ſupported by ſeveral of the Deputies, and ſtill more ſtrenuouſly by the people themſelves.

While

While the National Aſſembly remained at Verſailles, the audience was not able fully to eſtabliſh theſe claims. It was not until ſome time after the Aſſembly was removed to the capital that they were exerciſed in their utmoſt latitude. Then indeed the audience became the arbiters of praiſe and cenſure; and the Galleries of the National Aſſembly were conſidered as the *Nation*, as much as the Pit at a London playhouſe is conſidered as the *Town*. The performers at both *Theatres* are no doubt much at the mercy of the audience—with this difference, however, that although what the Britiſh actor pronounces is liable to be damned, yet he himſelf is in no danger of being abuſed and inſulted by the mob when he appears in the ſtreets, as often happened to the unpopular orators of the National Aſſembly.

In the progreſs of improvement, the French audience were not left to their own

unbiaſſed judgment, but inſtructed what kind of doctrine they were to applaud, and what they were to condemn.

As a matter of curioſity, it may not be improper to give ſome account of a manœuvre which was of ſo much importance in the Revolution, and which I received from thoſe who were fully acquainted with the manner in which the galleries were diſciplined, at the period when that kind of tactic was brought to the greateſt perfection; and that there may be no need of returning to the ſubject, I ſhall inſert it here, though not the preciſe part of this narrative in which, according to method, it ſhould be placed.

The galleries of the National Aſſembly being open to people of every deſcription, and filled by the firſt comers, it will be readily believed that, in a city ſuch as Paris, nine-tenths of the audience were incapable of underſtanding the debates. Thoſe parts

of

of the ſpeeches, therefore, which they moſt admired, and at which they thundered their loudeſt peals of applauſe, were not preciſely what Longinus or Mr. Burke would have ſelected as examples of the ſublime or beautiful. Every ſpeaker, who had not the misfortune of being thought a royaliſt, who had a tolerably ſtrong voice, who interſperſed his diſcourſe with abuſe of Ariſtocrates, Emigrants, and Sovereign Princes; who made frequent alluſion to the Sovereignty of the People; and who, no matter how they were introduced, often pronounced with emphaſis the words *La Nation*, *Liberté*, and *Egalité*, was certain of the applauſe of the galleries.

Certain Deputies of the Court party having remarked the efficacy of theſe words, ſometimes had the addreſs to intermingle them ſo ſucceſsfully with their harangues, as to draw loud applauſe from thoſe who, if they had comprehended the tendency of the

reaſoning, would have hiſſed them without mercy.

As the audience were ſo apt to be miſled by their *ears*, it was thought proper to engage their *eyes* as an auxiliary to their underſtanding; and men were employed to throw out ſignals indicating whom and when they ſhould applaud or cenſure.

A member of the Aſſembly was ſometimes employed to make thoſe ſignals, which were underſtood by only one or two perſons in the galleries, who by a ſimilar mode communicated their import to others.

The uſual ſignals were the handkerchief hanging half out of the pocket, ſometimes out of the right, ſometimes out of the left—the hat held in the hand in a particular manner, or with the national cockade uppermoſt—rubbing the eyes, or the noſe, or the ear. All theſe had their particular meanings, with a variety of other ſigns which

which may be eaſily conceived; each of which denoted the nature of the exploſion required, whether for approbation or diſapprobation.

To ſecure the majority it was neceſſary to have about a hundred and fifty perſons in each of the two galleries. There were alſo one leader and five ſubalterns in each gallery. The leaders only were acquainted with the ſignal from the hall. This they immediately communicated by a different one to the ten ſubalterns, who directly began their marks of applauſe or cenſure, in which they were followed by all the mercenaries whom they had previouſly engaged; and their loud clappings generally excited thoſe of all the people in the galleries.

The common mercenaries were acquainted with the ſubalterns only, and preciſely followed their example, whether they clapped or hooted. It was left to the ſubalterns to engage their followers; but they were often

often unacquainted with each other, and in confidential correſpondence only with the leader, who informed them previous to every ſitting of the ſignals they were to follow. The two leaders were not always known to each other, and both were entirely unacquainted with thoſe who originally employed the perſon who gave ſignals from the hall.

The wages of the common followers were from forty ſols to three livres each ſitting. The ſubalterns were paid at the rate of ten livres, and the leaders at that of fifty.

When an important queſtion was to be debated, the galleries were always in the pay of one party or the other; and ſometimes each party had the uſual number of their mercenaries on duty there; which never failed to occaſion a great deal of noiſe, and a violent conteſt between the applauders and the hooters.

It ſometimes happened alſo, that a number of the common hirelings deceived the

ſubalterns, and took money from thoſe of both parties; in which caſe neither was well ſerved, all was confuſion and doubt, and the real ſentiments of the *Peuple Souverain* ſeemed as ambiguous as the will of the Gods announced by the oracle of Delphos.

From this account a pretty juſt eſtimate may be made of the value of the applauſe or cenſure of that portion of the Sovereign People who were uſually ſeated in the galleries of the National Aſſembly after it was removed to the capital, and which continued to be one of the moſt powerful engines of the Revolution until the time that Roberſpierre eſtabliſhed the guillotine in lieu of all the reſt.

At the period, however, of the inſurrection which obliged the Aſſembly to leave Verſailles, Roberſpierre was little known, and of too ſmall importance in the party with whom he acted to have his opinion much regarded; but I have been told that,

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from the time that the States-General aſſumed the name of National Aſſembly, he often inſiſted on the advantages which would be derived from the Aſſembly's being removed to the capital. Whatever advantage the popular party derived from the ſupport of the galleries at Verſailles, it was eaſy to foreſee it would be enjoyed in a much greater degree at Paris. Certain Deputies, therefore, formed the reſolution to ſeize the firſt pretext that ſhould preſent itſelf for removing the Aſſembly to that city. An incident of an extraordinary nature did preſent itſelf, which ſerved them for the pretext they wiſhed, and which others attempted to turn to more heinous purpoſes.

The incident alluded to was a feaſt given by the Gardes-du-Corps, which occaſioned the march of the Pariſian populace to Verſailles. Thoſe who wiſh to excuſe or palliate that ſhameful expedition aſſert, that previous to the feaſt given by

the Body Guards, which they admit to have been its immediate cauſe, there had been a general and well-founded ſuſpicion of a plan to carry the King and Royal Family to Metz, where they were to be joined by many of the Nobility and members of the Parliaments, who expected that numbers of the people would flock to the royal ſtandard as ſoon as it was erected, and declare againſt the National Aſſembly; that this ſcheme was to be aided and ſupported by certain Powers on the Continent, with a view to excite a civil war, occaſion the diſmemberment of France, and avenge the cauſe of Kings, who had been inſulted by the reſtrictions which the ſubjects of Lewis XVI. had put on his power. The ſame perſons inſiſted, that the King ſhewed the greateſt reluctance to the wiſhes of the Nation: that he had delayed giving his ſanction to the decrees of the 4th of Auguſt till the 16th of September; and then, inſtead of

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an abſolute aſſent, he had ſent a commentary on the decrees, accompanied with a conditional aſſent only; the full ſanction not having been obtained till the 20th of the ſame month, after ſeveral very urgent addreſſes from the Aſſembly: that he ſhewed the ſame averſion to the declaration of the Bill of Rights and firſt articles of the Conſtitution, and poſtponed his acceptance of them till the arrival of the multitude at Verſailles on the 6th of October, and until the carriages which were prepared for his eſcape were ſtopped by the National Guards of Verſailles. And, giving every circumſtance the worſt interpretation, they inſiſted, that when, on the failure of a loan propoſed by M. Necker, the King ſacrificed his jewels and plate to the public neceſſities, this was done merely with a view to blind the people to the preparations making for his eſcape, and becauſe he was fully ſenſible that he could not have carried them

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with him, and of courſe that they would have been all confiſcated.

That the King would have been very well pleaſed to have been ſafely at Metz with his family, ſeems highly probable; but as no proof has hitherto appeared of his having made arrangements to fly to that place at this time, all theſe aſſertions are mere conjectures.

The Count d'Eſtaing, who had the command of the National Guards of Verſailles, having previouſly conſulted the Municipality, and repreſented the neceſſity of protecting the National Aſſembly and the perſon of the King from any attempt againſt them, required of the Miniſter that a thouſand troops of the line might be quartered in Verſailles for that purpoſe.

This, like all the reſt, was by ſome conſtrued unfavourably, and imputed to a deſign of aſſiſting, and not preventing, the eſcape of the King; eſpecially as the National Aſſembly had not been conſulted with

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regard to the propriety or neceſſity of the meaſure. However that may be, the regiment of Flanders, conſiſting of a thouſand men, *were* ordered to Verſailles. When they arrived, the officers were invited, with thoſe of the National Guards, to an entertainment by the Gardes-du-Corps. The entertainment was given in the opera-houſe belonging to the palace. The gueſts amounted to the number of 240, and all the boxes were full of ſpectators. Towards the end of the entertainment the King and Queen had the curioſity to enter the hall, the Queen leading the young Dauphin, and attended by ſeveral ladies and gentlemen of the Court. This unexpected viſit to a company, whoſe hearts were already elated with gaiety and warmed with wine, could not fail to rouſe the ſpirit of loyalty. The healths of the Royal Family were drank with acclamations of joy. After walking through the hall, the royal party retired;

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the muſic ſtruck up a favourite loyal tune, which was accompanied by the voices of the gueſts. The gates of the hall were thrown open for the grenadiers of the two corps, who, having drank the healths of the Royal Family, hurried with jovial enthuſiaſm to paſs the night in dancing beneath the windows of the palace. Some white cockades were diſtributed among them by the ladies of the court.

This ſcene paſſed on the firſt of October 1789. It was ſoon after circulated, and has been ſince publiſhed, that the entertainment was given and all the incidents arranged by certain perſons of the Court, who were at the expence of the whole for the purpoſe of awakening the loyalty of the inhabitants of Verſailles, attaching the regiment of Flanders and the National Guards to the King and Queen, prejudicing them againſt the National Aſſembly, favouring a plan already formed for the King's eſcape to Metz, and

effecting a counter-revolution; and as theſe things were arranged at a time when the King pretended to co-operate with the Aſſembly in eſtabliſhing a new Conſtitution, to which he expreſſed general good will, although he was ſcrupulous reſpecting particular articles, and wiſhed to have them explained before he would give them his ſanction, they are enumerated as proofs of the King's falſehood and hypocriſy. But all this is founded on mere conjecture and aſſertion, ſince no proof is brought that the entertainment was at the expence of the perſons alluded to, or for the purpoſes above mentioned; and if both were proved, it would ſtill remain to be proved that the King was acquainted with, and had agreed to, the meaſures. It is very certain, indeed, that ſome perſons of great influence who had emigrated were continually ſcheming plans of counter-revolution, and uſing every means in their power to prompt him

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to withdraw from the kingdom; being convinced that his preſence with them would greatly facilitate the object they had conſtantly in view. They feared nothing ſo much as that the King ſhould be gained over to the ſide of the People, and agree to a Conſtitution in which a great part, perhaps as much as he wiſhed, of his own authority would be ſecured and confirmed, while they would remain deprived of their privileges and excluded from France for ever. But it is equally certain, that ſome of the moſt reſpectable members of the Aſſembly had taken great pains to inſpire the King with a deſire of becoming, and a pride in being thought, the Reſtorer of Liberty to France. They had repreſented the neceſſity of his abſtaining from all communication with thoſe who had emigrated from the kingdom; as any appearance of that would tend to alienate the hearts of his ſubjects: and, above all, they had pointed out

the meaſure of withdrawing from France as pregnant with the moſt fatal conſequences to himſelf and to his country. It is even ſaid, that the example of James II. of England was mentioned as a warning to him by ſome, who aſſerted that the poſterity of that Prince might have been placed on the throne, had he poſſeſſed the firmneſs to have remained at all riſks in the iſland. Finally, the King was conjured to rely on the attachment and love of his own ſubjects, rather than on the humiliating protection and intereſted aid of foreign powers; for, even if they ſhould accompliſh the re-eſtabliſhment of his family, there was much reaſon to fear it would be at the ſevere expence of his kingdom.

Upon the whole, there is reaſon to believe that the King had not formed any deſign at this time of withdrawing; that the feaſt was given at the ſole expence of the Gardes-du-Corps, with no other view than

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to entertain the guefts who were invited; and that the incidents which gave offence and created fuſpicion were accidental; for, however imprudent ſome of the ſcenes may be thought, they were no way inconſiſtent with the character of the actors.

On the ſecond of October, M. Mounier, as Preſident, preſented certain articles of the Conſtitution agreed on by the Aſſembly to the King for his acceptance. The King anſwered, that he would in due time make his intentions reſpecting thoſe articles known. Some people imagined, that his Majeſty was induced to give this anſwer by the marks of attachment to his perſon, and the expreſſions of loyalty that had paſſed at the entertainment of the preceding night; and that he meant to poſtpone his acceptance till he ſhould effect his eſcape. The Aſſembly were not pleaſed with the anſwer. Whatever were the King's motives, the news of his having delayed to ſanction the articles

occaſioned ſtill more diſpleaſure at Paris. His enemies repreſented this as a determined refuſal; and they reſolved to ſpirit up the people to inſurrection.

With this view, the circumſtances of the entertainment at the Opera-houſe were miſrepreſented in the manner moſt likely to alarm the friends of liberty, and to enrage the populace. It was repeated, "that the feaſt had been given for the purpoſe of ſeducing the National Guards from the cauſe of freedom; that the general topic of converſation among the gueſts was the unhappy condition of the Royal Family, and how meritorious it would be to free them from it; that ſongs breathing the ſame ſentiment had been ſung; that the Queen, when ſhe walked through the hall with the Dauphin in her arms, had recommended him to the ſoldiers in terms injurious to the people. It was ſaid that the national cockade, the emblem of liberty, had been trod-

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den under foot; that a great number of ſupernumerary officers and chevaliers of St. Louis were aſſembled at Verſailles; and that mercenary ſoldiers had been brought to that city of late, and more were expected, with a deſign to controul the Aſſembly, perhaps to maſſacre the members; and that meaſures had been already uſed, and were ſtill continued by the Court, to intercept the proviſions deſtined for the capital."

Thoſe miſrepreſentations were not thought ſufficient to excite the mob to the point in view. By means of conſiderable ſums diſtributed among the agents of inſurrection, of whom there were abundance at this time in Paris, a numerous band of men, armed with pikes and other weapons, aſſembled on the morning of the fifth of October in the ſquare of the Hotel de Ville. It was not difficult for the agents above mentioned to collect a multitude of deſperate perſons; becauſe there really was a

great ſcarcity of proviſions. Many poor families, particularly in the ſuburbs, were ſuffering the pangs of hunger, and all were terrified with the idea of impending famine. The Committee appointed for ſupplying the city with proviſions were alſo accuſed of negligence; and the multitude inſiſted on entering into the Town-houſe to remonſtrate with them. They were faintly oppoſed by the National Guards, who ſoon gave way, ſaying they would not fight againſt poor people who demanded only bread.

That this inſurrection might have the leſs appearance of a premeditated plan, and be the leſs reſiſted at the beginning, it had been thought proper to employ women, and perſons in female garb. To their noiſy requiſitions for bread the Committee declared that all poſſible means were uſing to procure it; but that they had met with unexpected difficulties. A cry was immediately heard,

heard, that thoſe difficulties originated at the Court, and that they would go to Verſailles and demand redreſs from the King. This propoſal met with univerſal approbation; and ſoon after a man, known by the name of Maillard, offered himſelf as their leader. As this perſon had diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the taking of the Baſtile, and was known to them all, he was immediately choſen to that office *par acclamation*; and the outcry was reſumed of marching to Verſailles. Maillard led his band of Amazons through the unreſiſting National Guards who filled the ſquare, conducted them by beat of drum to the plain called the Elyſian Fields, where they muſtered near five thouſand perſons, of whom four-fifths were women, or dreſſed like women. Many of thoſe who were in men's dreſs were diſguiſed with long beards, or in ſome other fantaſtical manner. Having previouſly broken into ſome magazines, they were all armed;

armed ; and they ſtopped as many coaches as were neceſſary to furniſh horſes for dragging ſome pieces of cannon, a poiſſarde being mounted on each horſe and a couple on each cannon, which followed the main body in their march to Verſailles. This Maillard, who offered himſelf ſo à-propos, and was choſen ſo unanimouſly as their leader, was moſt probably one of the agents previouſly fixed upon for conducting this buſineſs, under the ſecret influence and at the expence of the Duke of Orleans.

M. La Fayette has been cenſured for not having diſperſed this band of inſurgents, and prevented their marching to Verſailles. It appears, however, that the ſpirit of inſurrection had gained upon the National Guards themſelves ; that they were deaf to the remonſtrances of their commander, and refuſed to uſe any kind of force againſt women. And in a ſhort time the clamour became univerſal, that the General himſelf ſhould lead

lead them to Verſailles, lay their grievances before the King, and invite him to reſide at Paris.

M. La Fayette ſaid every thing he could think of to turn them from this; and the whole of his conduct both at this time and previous to it proves his ſincerity.

When a fermentation was excited ſome time before this period by a very turbulent and ſeditious man of the name of St. Huruge, who propoſed this very meaſure, that the King and the National Aſſembly ſhould be appointed to reſide at Paris, it was greatly owing to the ſpirited behaviour of M. La Fayette, that the mob which this man had aſſembled was diſperſed, and St. Huruge himſelf, with ſeveral other agitators, was ſeized and ſent to priſon; and there can be no doubt that the preſent inſurrection would have had a ſimilar termination, if the National Guards had been equally obedient to M. La Fayette

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on this occaſion as on the former. Beſides, the ill terms on which M. La Fayette was with the Duke of Orleans is ſufficient of itſelf to clear him of this accuſation. No two men were leſs likely to be in intimacy with each other. Their characters were directly oppoſite: M. La Fayette is deſcribed by thoſe who have known him long and intimately, as indefatigable in the purſuit of renown, diſintereſted, brave, and generous—qualities never attributed to the character of the Duke of Orleans.

Some are ſo irritated by the loſſes they have ſuſtained, others by the conſequences which they dread from the French Revolution, that they view with equal enmity thoſe men who from the moſt laudable motives joined in the meaſures for obtaining a free Conſtitution for France, and thoſe who rendered theſe meaſures abortive, by involving the country in anarchy and drenching it in

blood.

blood. With equal diſcernment might Hampden be confounded with Cromwell, or Ruſſel or Sydney with Titus Oates.

To charge the Dukes of Rochefoucault and Liancourt, Meſſ. de Lally-Tolendal, Mounier, Clermont-Tonnerre, Malouet, and many others, whoſe views were to reform the abuſes of an arbitrary government, and eſtabliſh a limited monarchy, as in any reſpect acceſſaries to the bloody ſcenes which have been acted in the courſe of this Revolution, is in the higheſt degree abſurd. If ſuch reaſoning were admitted, Luther would be proved to be the author of the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew; becauſe, unleſs he had attempted to detect the abuſes of Popery, and brought about the Reformation, there would have been no Proteſtants to maſſacre.

The National Guards aſſembled before the Town-houſe were ſo determined on this expedition to Verſailles, and ſo irritated at La Fayette's perſevering endeavours to diſſuade

diſſuade them, that a large body of them declared that they would no longer have him for their commander, and actually propoſed to M. Dogni, Intendant des Poſtes and Commander of the Battalion of St. Euſtache, to accept the chief command inſtead of La Fayette, and to lead them to Verſailles, declaring that they would follow his orders in all reſpects. He, however, poſitively refuſed. Seeing that at all events they were decided on going, M. La Fayette at length ſaid, that if the Municipality would give him an order for that purpoſe, he would go at the head of the National Guards to communicate to the King the diſtreſſes of the capital, and the grievances of which they complained.

Having obtained the order, he ſet out with a body of 20,000 men for Verſailles, four or five hours after the motley band above deſcribed had taken the ſame route.

• Whoever were the firſt movers of this inſur-

inſurrection, they had given different reaſons for the neceſſity of it, adapted to the different prejudices and diſpoſitions of the perſons they wiſhed to excite.

The National Militia complained of the indignity offered to the three-coloured cockade by the Gardes-du-Corps at the famous banquet, for which, they ſaid, theſe Body Guards deſerved death.

The old French Guards, who were incorporated with the National Guards, were provoked at not having been allowed to guard the perſon of the King. They ſaid that this was a clear proof that he intended to eſcape out of the kingdom; and they were inſtructed to call for his being removed to Paris.

Some exclaimed againſt his having delayed to ſanction the decrees of the National Aſſembly, and ſaid they ought to march to Verſailles, on purpoſe to let him know that the People were impatient for that meaſure.

The Poiſſardes cried out againſt the ſcarcity of bread; and as they proceeded to Verſailles, they often execrated the Queen as the ſole cauſe of the ſcarcity. "I never heard," ſaid a Garde-à-Cheval as he paſſed them, "that the Queen devoured more bread than another woman." "C'eſt égal," anſwered one of theſe furies: "Tu vas à Verſailles; dis à la Reine que nous y ſerons pour lui couper le cou."

The King had gone that morning to hunt the ſtag. He was informed, while in the midſt of the chaſe, that there had been great diſorders in Paris, in conſequence of which a multitude of armed people, many of them in women's dreſs, were marching to Verſailles. His Majeſty immediately left the field, and returned to the Palace. The Captain of his guards aſked if he had any orders to give to him. The King anſwered, laughing, *Eh quoi, pour des femmes! vous vous moquez.*

Such accounts came afterwards, however,

of their numbers, of their rage, and of the threatening language which they held on their march, that this expedition began to be conſidered as a very ſerious buſineſs by thoſe near the perſon of the King. It was even propoſed in the Council, that the Royal Family ſhould be removed; but that propoſition being over-ruled, the Queen was informed, that as the fury and malice of the inſurgents were peculiarly pointed againſt her, it would be highly proper for her to withdraw, for ſome time at leaſt, from Verſailles: to which, with a firmneſs which never forſook her on the moſt trying occaſions, ſhe anſwered, "I am determined never to forſake my huſband: if the Pariſians are bent on murdering me, I will die at the feet of the King."

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME

ERRATA TO VOL. I.

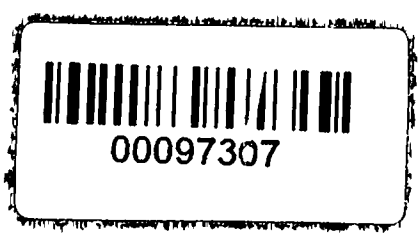
Page 8. at bottom, for *vincet* read *vincit.*

11. at top, for *wonderment* read *fooliſh wonder.*

228. line 3d from bottom, del. *as.*

——— 2d from bottom, for *they* read *and.*

231. line 4th from top, del. *all.*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